The Impact of Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on Precarious Working Conditions within the Minibus Taxi Industry in Johannesburg

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare the thesis submitted for the Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (DLitt et Phil) degree at the University of Johannesburg, apart from the help recognised, is my own work and has not previously been submitted to another university or institution of higher education for a degree.

……
Siyabulela Christopher Fobosi
January 2021

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late brother, Dalindyebo Anthony Fobosi. May his soul rest in peace and rise in glory.

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For this thesis, interviews were conducted with fifty-eight participants: primary informers from the Department of Employment and Labour (DoEL); Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity (GPRE);

[1] Dlulane, B. 2019. *Makhura Sets Up Commission of Inquiry to Curb Gauteng Taxi Violence*. Accessed from https://ewn.co.za/2019/09/15/makhura-sets-up-commission-of-inquiry-to-curb-gauteng-taxi-violence

Department of Transport (DoT); Gauteng Department of Transport (GDoRT); SA Taxi Development Finance; South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU); National Taxi Alliance (NTA) and South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO). The majority of interviews were at the City of Johannesburg's (CoJ) four main taxi ranks with taxi owners, taxi marshals. Lastly, commuters of minibus taxis were also interviewed. Thank you very much to all those who availed themselves for these interviews and gave thoughtful insights.

Additionally, I wrote abstracts for the 2019 Congress of the South African Sociological Association (SASA) at the University of South Africa (Unisa), held in Pretoria; to the 25th International Conference on Urban Transport and the Environment in Aveiro, Portugal. Both abstracts were accepted for oral presentations and later developed into papers. I also wrote articles based on chapters 6 and 7. The latter was published[2] on the 22nd of July 2019 by the World Journal of Social Science Research (WJSSR). The article based on Chapter 6 was published[3] on the 16th of October 2019 by the WJSSR. In addition, I wrote a paper based on chapter 8 and this was published[4] on 23rd of December 2019 by the African Sociological Review (ASR). My special gratitude goes to these journals for publishing my articles. I will be developing more articles based on the findings of my thesis.

Finally, my special gratefulness to our God for giving me courage to continue striving for excellence.

[2] Fobosi, SC. 2019. Regulated Set Against Unregulated Minibus Taxi Industry in Johannesburg. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 6(3) pp: 303-319.
[3] Fobosi, SC. 2019. Experience of Negotiating Access in the 'Field': Lessons for Future Research. *World Journal of Social Science Research*, 6(4) pp: 503-519.
[4] Fobosi, SC. 2019. Employment Practices within the Minibus Taxi Industry in Johannesburg: A Study of Precariousness of Jobs in South Africa. *African Sociological Review*, 23(2) pp: 99-119.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMNS

ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative
ANC	African National Congress
APP	Annual Performance Plan
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BTF	Bridge Taxi Finance
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
DoT	Department of Transport
DoEL	Department of Employment and Labour
DoL	Department of Labour
DoRA	Division of Revenue Act
GDoRT	Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport
GPRE	Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRPTNs	Integrated Rapid Public Transport Networks
ITPs	Integrated Transport Plans
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRAA	Labour Relations Amendment Act
MEC	Member of Executive Committee
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NLTIS	National Land Transport Information System
NLTA	National Land Transport Act
NTA	National Taxi Alliance
NTTT	National Taxi Task Team
OTVs	Old Taxi Vehicles
PTOG	Public Transport Operations Grant
RTRP	Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SANTACO	South African National Taxi Council
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
TRP	Taxi Recapitalisation Programme
UTAF	United Taxi Alliance Front

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the precarious working conditions and the impact subsequently of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP) within the minibus taxi industry. The TRP is one important piece of policy that regulated the industry. While the TRP is not a policy focused on working conditions per se, the programme aims to improve the condition of taxis and state of the taxi industry. In this regard, working conditions for taxi drivers start with an improvement in driving taxis in good condition to labour conditions. This thesis engages with government regulation and precarious work within the minibus taxi industry. From a basic perspective, the industry is commonly recognised as being part of the informal sector. Since the 1990s, government has been making efforts to change the industry. The National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) drove the industry's transformation in 1995. Such a change depended on the ensuing recommendations as embraced in 1996: formalising the minibus taxi industry; regulating and controlling the industry; capacity building and training; economic survival conditions made (such that that the industry is able to survive), manageability and strengthening. Against this foundation, this thesis examines whether the TRP has created changes to the minibus taxi industry's precarious conditions of work. The State's TRP announced in 1999 has created tremendous discussions and divisions in the industry. The upgrade of the taxi driver's conditions of work in the minibus taxi sector was amongst the purposes behind the execution of the TRP. This propelled the investigation of the presence of unstable states of work and the effect subsequently inside the industry. This is because workers were to be registered with the Labour Department (presently Department of Employment and Labour), as well as being given annual leave and adaptable working hours. The subject of the impact of government regulation on working conditions not only speaks to precarious labour conditions, but in addition to good working conditions, for example, driving roadworthy taxis.

This thesis uses precarity as a framework in which to explain the various forms of precarious work within the minibus taxi industry. The thesis demonstrates that the theoretical framework is necessary to study the interface between the TRP developed by government and the actual changes within the minibus taxi industry. The industry's labour conditions place taxi drivers and taxi marshals in positions of precarity. As such, taxi drivers are presented every day with terrible conditions of work, and these conditions breach those stipulated in the BCEA, including compensations' Sectoral Determination. While the government announced the TRP to formalise the industry, there continue to be difficulties and entanglements with formalising the industry that

have adversely affected the impact of the TRP. I argue that such pitfalls delay the transformation of the industry.

This thesis makes a momentous contribution to the discipline of Industrial Sociology in understanding how precarious conditions of work develop. Extensive research has been directed on the spread of precarious work worldwide. This is work where employees experience uncertain, unstable and insecure working relations and receive constrained social advantages and legal insurances. The study of precarious work is informed by two broad sociological approaches. One is the view of contemporary sociological thinkers who conceive precarity as central to their conception of modernity. Secondly, economic sociologists who explore the spread of precarious work throughout the previous three decades. The concept of precarity has been central to the analysis of most sociological theorists. Similarly, I place precarity at the heart of my analysis of conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry. Therefore, this thesis makes a contribution to the sociological understanding of precarity. In this way, the thesis contributes to knowledge on the existence of precarity in other parts of the Global South, and places precarity from a Global South perspective. Since the late 1980s, the term precarity has been growing in Europe (Casas-Cortés, 2014). Social movements currently use the term to challenge precarious conditions in the production and reproduction processes (Casas-Cortés, 2014). In the European context, precarity is comprehended as a different experience of the neoliberal advance. While the concept of precarity has been viewed in various ways – with Standing (2011) considering it as producing a "new dangerous class", this thesis uses the concept to unpack the context of precarious conditions of work in the Global South – especially in South Africa. In contrast to Standing's conception of a dangerous class, I note that it is rather an insecure working class.

The methodology of the thesis is based on five levels of qualitative research and document analysis. First, nine primary informant interviews with policy makers in the Department of Transport of the National Government; Gauteng Labour Department; Gauteng's former Member of Executive Committee (MEC) of Transport; and Provincial Regulatory Entity from Gauteng; business (SA Taxi Development Finance); and the labour unions (SATAWU). Secondly, forty-one taxi drivers, taxi marshals and taxi-owners were interviewed at CoJ's four taxi ranks: Wanderers; Noord taxi; Faraday; and Bree. Thirdly, eight interviews with commuters from the City of Johannesburg. Fourthly, eight taxi trips from Johannesburg CBD to Duduza and to Soweto. Fifth, documents were sourced from government departments and business.

The key findings of the thesis are that the TRP had no positive effect within the industry's precarious working conditions. I discovered that most taxi owners/operators did not benefit from the TRP (one stipulation was that they could get their old taxi vehicles scrapped). This is mainly because they do not have operating licenses, which is one of the requirements for scrapping old taxis. With a total of seventy-two thousand, six hundred and ninety (72,690) old taxi vehicles (OTVs) scrapped since 2006 by the end of September 2018, the transformation of the minibus taxi industry through the scrapping allowance is progressing very slowly. The target of the TRP was to scrap 100,000 (one hundred thousand) OTVs, which was quickly revised in 2007 to 135,894 (one hundred thirty-five thousand, eight hundred ninety-four). The phasing out of old taxis with new ones was meant to reduce the number of vehicles and accidents on the roads and improve the public transport service. The taxis, or combis as they were called at the time, that were to be formalised, were scrapped at the value of R50 000. The purpose was to convert combis into a working minibus taxi industry that could abide by the rules of the land. Taxi owners were to purchase the TRP-compliant taxis. While the government reviewed the TRP, now called the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (RTRP), state intervention will continue to be minimal given the state's lack of capability and resistance from the industry. I argue that the lack of state intervention in the industry is characteristic of precariousness from above. This thesis reveals the existence of precariousness in the Global South within South Africa's minibus taxi industry.

This thesis concludes that the precariat is part of the working class – and, as Guy Standing (2011) claims, is not an underclass. Rather, I argue that taxi drivers and taxi marshals are placed only under precarious working conditions. I also conclude that the continual reproduction of precarity as a result of the pitfalls of minibus taxi industry transformation not only places taxi drivers and taxi marshals in positions of precarity, but also commuters who make use of taxis daily. Therefore, if the implementation of the RTRP is to succeed, this will help in ensuring that commuters travel in safe taxis. While the RTRP includes changes in management structures and working conditions, more needs to be done to ensure that taxi owners are convinced of the benefits of the formalisation process. As such, one of the recommendations that I make is the need for an engagement between government and the industry to find ways in which the industry could be formalised and benefit from government subsidies. There needs to be collaboration between government departments and taxi owners/operators to ensure that the industry complies with labour regulations.

PART ONE: CONTEXT

This section of the thesis provides the scene for the study by outlining a contextualisation of South Africa's minibus taxi industry. The industry's history can be traced from the 1930s (when taxis operated as sedans for short distances). Chapter 1 is a general introduction to the thesis, providing wider context to the study. Chapter 2 provides a historical context, covering South Africa's minibus taxi industry development. It traces how the industry developed within different historical periods, and as physically positioned within the informal sector. This section lays the basis for Part 2 that includes the literature review, theoretical/conceptual framework and methodology.

CHAPTER 1:

Minibus Taxi Industry's Transformation: From Informalisation to Formalisation

1.1 Introduction

This study examines government regulation (with specific reference to the TRP) on precarious conditions of work within Johannesburg's minibus taxi industry (sometimes referred to as the minibus taxi sector). The industry operates in Johannesburg alongside other public transport modes like Rea Vaya, Metrobus, Putco and trains (Gautrain and Metrorail), including Uber and meter taxis. It must also be noted that the entry of Uber into the transport sector has resulted in some discomfort among meter taxi companies across the world. The metered taxi, minibus taxi, bus and coach service sectors are important for the growth of the South African economy. The thesis also makes a significant theoretical contribution to the prevalent literature, thus filling a substantial void in the empirical evidence on the taxi industry. In this context, it is noteworthy that the thesis does not necessarily acknowledge the systemic "containment" of the minibus taxi industry within the informal economy. Rather, this work makes a methodological contribution by dealing critically with the consequences of TRP in an industry that continues to face pitfalls of formalisation. This introductory chapter covers the following areas: (1) formal and informal economies; (2) brief history of the South African minibus taxi industry; (3) training programme on corporatisation; (4) minibus taxi industry's working conditions; (5) aim of the study.

Following the work of Standing (2011), Clarke (2006) and others, I use precariat theory to define the existence of precarious conditions of work in the industry. I use precariousness[5] to describe the manner in which employment practices in the industry, labour legislation from the Department of Employment and Labour (DoEL), regulations and public transport policies by the Department of Transport (DoT) define the nature of the industry. This thesis offers an understanding of the contexts of political economy, political struggles, policy factors, and social factors that have shaped the nature and form of employment in the industry. While considering precariat theory from Guy Standing's perspective, I critique it and explain that precarious existence cannot be generalised. Therefore, in contrast to Standing, it is important to mention 'that precarity in Global North and South is experienced in different ways' (Lazar and Sanchez 2019:3). Although Standing (2014) referred to the allegations that he is generalising and noted that not all workers in the

[5] Chapter 5 discusses this term in more detail from the Global South perspective. This perspective that critiques Guy Standing's view of precariousness.

informal economy can be considered part of the precariat (Lazar and Sanchez 2019:5), he tends to separate the two concepts: informal sector and precariat.

There are many explanations why South Africa's minibus taxi industry offers a rather insightful case study to explore precarious employment in other parts of the Global South. Firstly, the minibus taxi industry's growth since the 1970s, from regulation to deregulation in the 1980s. Secondly, the state's inability to formalise and control the sector, following the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) recommendations. Thirdly, the effects of small TRPs within the industry. While some taxi operators have benefited from the programme through the system of scrapping old taxis, the majority are still driving old taxis and do not have operating licenses. Fourthly, the failure of the DoL to implement labour regulations within the industry. Since 1994, the department has failed to enforce Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector, including Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA). This thesis notes that the unintended consequence of regulation might lead to the growth of oligopolies, with taxi owners having total control of their minibus taxis and operating in a free market with no restrictions. Oligopolies in the industry would exist when government interferes with the free market, using regulation to protect some taxi owners from competition (Rena and Herani 2007). The consequence of this might lead to other competitors/taxi operators not being able to enter the industry. Finally, in light of the growing precariousness in the industry, there continues to be limitation and weakness from SATAWU in recruiting members in the taxi ranks.

For these reasons, an inquiry into the minibus taxi industry's precarious working conditions and the TRP's impact on it offers an opportunity to study and understand post-apartheid South Africa's employment and labour regulations. The chapter sets forth the context of the analysis as a framework for a thorough examination of the reasons. That will lay the foundation for the chapters below. In particular, the chapters of literature review and findings are intrinsically linked in explaining precarious working conditions in the Global South.

1.2 Formal and Informal Economies

There are conflicting views of the relationship between formal and informal economies. Also, considering the enormous operation it entails, the theoretical meaning of the word informal economy is subjected to critical analysis. Bond writes that the first economy in South Africa is the 'modern industrial, mining, agricultural, financial, and services sector that becomes ever more

integrated into the global economy every day' (2007:1). Interventions by the African National Congress (ANC) government have concentrated on making sure the first economy grows. According to du Toit and Neves, ‘South African policy debate on determined poverty has been dominated since 2003 by the notion that poor people remain poor because they are stuck in a second economy, unconnected from the mainstream first world economy’ (2007:iv). In 1994 however, the government initiated the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as an attempt to eradicate the two dividing economies: 'from macroeconomic policies, microeconomic initiatives, the provision of social services, the distribution of social assistance funds and the development of community safety and security' (Gumede 2008:16). Du Toit and Neves (2007) suggest that the formal and informal economies are interdependent rather than a disconnection between the two economies, and that they support one another in different ways. In their opinion, the strengthening of the first economy in order to funnel the profits earned down to the second economy has been a fallacy. In 2003, this policy fitted with the launch of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the government's macroeconomic strategy. GEAR is widely considered to have failed as a tool for job growth and redistribution (Aliber et al. 2006). Although it is assumed that the goal of macroeconomic policy is to promote faster growth, 'there is slight agreement on how to achieve this faster growth and how to make development more pro-poor' (Aliber et al. 2006:48).

Hart, discussing the history of the first and second economies, claims that it ‘figured prominently in the ANC 's ten-year analysis later in 2003, its 2004 election manifesto, Mbeki's State of the Nation Address in February 2004, and its opening address to Parliament in May 2004’ (2007:59). Government had various discussions, according to Gumede (2008), which concluded that the growth and development challenges of the second economy could only be addressed through an economic focus and not through social security measures such as social pensions. Hence, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (AsgiSA) tackles the problems of sustainable livelihoods and economic growth. In the second economy, the economic interventions focused on eliminating the dual economy. The perception of informal activity is guided by a definite dualistic definition expressed in the formal-informal contrast, with the formal economy being developed, competitive as well as entrepreneurial. In contrast to this, the informal economy is considered regressive and undeveloped (Laha 2008). Such a dualistic portrayal, which considers the formal economy to be robust and large, in addition to increasing, and the distinct and antagonistic informal economy to be small, negligible and deteriorating, represents what Derrida (1967) regards as a hierarchical binary view. Rather than viewing the formal-informal economy as hierarchical binary, it is helpful

to view it along the continuum so as to not dichotomise the economies. This is because both economies are structurally-linked.

Although the differences between the formal and informal economies is a suitable starting point theoretically, thinking about types of formalisation and informalisation along a continuum is logically beneficial, rather than dichotomising economies. It is important to mention that informal sectors are characterised by precarious conditions of work – by work insecurities. These have always existed in other parts of the Global South, as exemplified by the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Therefore, even though Standing replied to criticism from Breman (2013) and Munck (2013), who argued that the precariat is not a new global class but has always existed, he still misses the point. Standing replied that it is quite wrong that the concept of precariat derives mainly from developments in the United Kingdom or North Atlantic. He argues that Breman fails to make a difference between different groups as the global labour process takes shape. However, he does not take cognisance of the precarious conditions of work characterising the informal sectors in other parts of the Global South. For example, the minibus taxi industry in South Africa, as physically positioned in the informal sector, is defined by regulated precariousness and precarious conditions of work, as I explain in the findings chapters.

1.3 Brief Context of South Africa's Minibus Taxi Industry (Sector)

South Africa's minibus taxi industry is the most popular mode of transportation, particularly for the low-income population living in townships. Minibus taxis are also viewed as the only mobility choice for most people. The minibus taxi industry accounts for 68% of work trips within the public transport value-chain, followed by buses and trains. In a systemic sense, this sector exists in the informal economy (Fourie 2003), but is increasingly subject to conflicting formalisation and informalisation processes. In this regard, the transformation of the minibus taxi industry was led by the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) and is based on the following recommendations as adopted in 1996: formalisation of the taxi industry; regulation and control of the minibus taxi industry; training and capacity building and; establishment of conditions for economic survival, prosperity and empowerment (Mahlangu 2002). Government has sought formalisation of the industry through the TRP and a Corporatisation training programme (in Gauteng). Central to the minibus taxi sector's transformation or restructuring is the need to resolve the following: absence of effective conflict settlement, lack of discipline, division of alliances, no code of ethics, unregistered taxis, terrible employment / work conditions, terrible customer service and poor

education. Extensive literature on South Africa's TRP exists (Browning 2001; Govender and Allopi 2006; Neumann et al. 2015; Lister and Dhunpath 2016; Yang et al. 2005; Mmadi 2012; Sebola 2014; Ntuli 2015; Moyake 2006).

Government, since 1999 (with the TRP's announcement), focused on reforming the minibus taxi sector and addressing the regulation challenge. It was meant to formalise the taxi industry, as it aimed to create larger 19 and 35-seater diesel-powered vehicles. According to Fourie, 'under the recapitalisation programme jointly established by the Department of Transport, Trade and Industry, Minerals and Energy and Finance, the government will subsidize owners to help them buy the new 18-35 seat taxis' (2003:40). The post-apartheid government continues to make efforts to formalise the industry through, for example, the establishment of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP) in 1999 (Mahlangu 2002) and the Revised TRP in 2019.

The project to transform the industry continues to be held back by a lack of political will, with some political leaders accused of being taxi owners themselves (Browning 2018). Historically, South Africa's minibus taxi industry has been characterised by exploitative labour arrangements between taxi owners and taxi drivers, which apparently enhanced profit at all costs. The lack of formalised work contracts was one of the primary factors leading to this (Mahlangu 2002). The informal way of doing business was maintained by lowering labour costs and disregarding safety in general.

The owner of a taxi provides his / her taxi to a driver within the minibus taxi industry, who in turn has the duty to carry commuters to their destinations. Normally, the owner of a taxi decides on the remuneration of the driver. Most taxi drivers get paid 25% of the overall amount they make every week. As such, their salaries are decided based on the money made from taxi fares. Today, this quota scheme has become obsolete and drivers are paid on an 'earn as you work' basis for days worked (Lister and Dhunpath 2016). Neither are taxi drivers compensated with pay slips. They have no insurance against unemployment besides this (Neumann 2015). Within the sector, taxi owners have full control over the labour process. For instance, the industry's quota system causes drivers to work irregular hours. The industry is commuter driven and thus taxis must run as long as there are commuters to be picked up. Generally speaking, within the minibus taxi industry, regional structures (on behalf of both long-distance and local operators) control taxi prices charged in cash without inherently consistent track records of payments by commuters.

1.4 Formalisation and Corporatisation Training Programme

The formalisation of the taxi industry is meant to transform it into a professional and business orientated business. In order to achieve this, the Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport (GDoRT) implemented the Corporatisation Training Programme (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2016). Corporatisation ensures that taxi associations are legal business entities. The GDoRT aims to boost customer service, influence taxi driver actions and assist the taxi industry through skills development as part of an effort to transform the sector (Gauteng Provincial Government 2016).

Implementing the TRP, introduced by the state in 1999, has created enormous debates and divisions within the taxi market. Investigating the precarious working conditions and the impact on the industry of the TRP is reassured by the fact that improving working standards for its' taxi drivers was one of the reasons for the TRP 's execution (Baloyi 2012). Workers are/should be registered with the Department of Labour, as well as given annual leave and flexible working hours. The question of the impact of the TRP on working conditions not only speaks to precarious labour conditions, but also broader working conditions, such as driving taxis in good condition.

1.5 Minibus Taxi Industry's Labour Conditions

The industry's labour conditions puts drivers in a precarious position. This means that drivers are subject to precarious conditions of work that go against the BCEA, including the wage determinations (Mmadi 2012). For example, where it still exists, this is visible in the quota system. In this way, different taxi owners set deadlines for their respective taxi drivers to reach by the end of the day. Therefore, with the fear of being dismissed due to poor performance (for failure to meet a target), taxi drivers are actively trying to meet the deadline (Fernandes, Gremaud and Narita nd). This leads to overworking taxi drivers who risk themselves, commuters and other users of the road. Cost minimisation persists through the exploitation of labour (which include disgraceful work practices for drivers and other staff), overall overlook for health regulations, as well as disputes but also hostility. The job pressures faced everyday by drivers, along with the vehicle's un-roadworthiness as operators aim to reduce expenses.

1.6 Problem Statement

The minibus taxi industry's labour conditions are an example of precarious forms of employment. Precarious jobs are jobs that are on average low-quality jobs, with, for example, irregular working hours, high job instability, low wages and restricted career growth opportunities (Buddelmeyer et al. 2013). Particularly in the minibus taxi industry, the relationship between precarious types of jobs and job satisfaction is uncertain. Non-standard job arrangements are believed to include working conditions which are inferior to more permanent jobs (Gamble and Huang 2009; Wooden and Warren 2004). The minibus taxi industry's working conditions are considered inferior to more formalised public transport such as the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit network in Johannesburg.

Kenny claims in her research on non-standard employment that 'generally speaking, many types of non-standard employment relegate employees to insecure labour market roles with low wages, instability, meager benefits and no common voice' (2009:282). The minibus taxi industry therefore continues to be characterised by non-standard working conditions, with the TRP having a marginal effect on the industry. Around the world, the working conditions of workers have been affected by the forces of globalisation (Bowles 2010). The minibus taxi industry is no exception, though the industry has been characterised by informal conditions for a very long time (Mmadi 2012; Fourie and Pretorius 2005).

This thesis answers the following research question: *What is the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme on the Minibus Taxi Industry's precarious conditions of work?* This question not only speaks to precarious labour conditions, but also to broader working conditions, such as driving taxis in good condition. Therefore, with the process of phasing out/scrapping of old taxis through the TRP, it is hoped that taxis would be in good condition and, in turn, improve working conditions for drivers. This also speaks to the questions of safety for commuters. One of the main development challenges facing South Africa is the legacy of racial segregation imposed by the apartheid state. Edigheji argues that 'South Africa's historical legacy of racialised economic opportunity makes it imperative that black economic empowerment (BEE) will remain an essentially non-negotiable aspect of ANC economic policy for at least a decade to come' (2010:197). In turn, the history of racial segregation in the minibus taxi industry is one of the main public transport developmental dilemmas facing South Africa. The minibus taxi industry, as part of BEE, is important in this regard through the TRP. In a letter written by Deputy Information Officer of the Department of Transport to my request for access to information on the TRP review

report, it is mentioned that the TRP is a once-off capital subsidy, and not a subsidy system for the taxi industry. In other words, government provides a capital subsidy in the form of a scrapping allowance to those taxi operators who voluntarily surrender their vehicles to be scrapped. This means that the industry is not subsidised in the manner in which buses and trains are subsidised by government. Therefore, the minibus taxi industry is the only mode of public transport that does not benefit from any form of operational subsidy and only receives 1% of the total subsidy in the form of taxi recapitalisation – a capital subsidy.

It is important to mention that investment in public transport would help overcome the legacy of apartheid and facilitate the development of South Africa into a 21st century developmental state. One of the ways in which government has supported the development of a public transport sector is through the provision of subsidies (Imaniranzi 2015). However, in terms of these subsidies, government overlooked the minibus taxi industry, as they did with most informal businesses. The lack of subsidies is partly because the government has chosen to attempt to replace the industry with formal public transport modes. It is important to note that the industry plays an important role in the public transport value-chain and is critical to South Africa's public transport system (Gibbs 2014). The industry 's operations can be described largely as irregular and uncontrolled, characterised by economic relationships between taxi owners, taxi drivers, taxi users, government, vehicle manufacturers and other transport-related companies (Fourie 2003). The industry is structurally located in the informal economy and closely connected to the formal economy. The operations of the taxi industry involve the conveyance of people from different points of departure to destinations all over the country.

The TRP was introduced to formalise or restructure the minibus taxi industry (Schalekamp et al. 2010). The TRP is, as such, central to the formalisation/restructuring of the taxi industry and the development state agenda. The transformation of the taxi industry, through the TRP, was originally recommended by the NTTT to change and regulate the minibus taxi sector. The DoT identified the target population of the recapitalisation policy as taxi owners. The following were recognised as official role players of the recapitalisation policy:

- Departments of the national government and their provincial equivalents include
- DoT; Department of Trade and Industry; Department of Minerals and Energy; Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism; Department of Labour, and

Finance; The South African Bureau for Standards (SABS); The motor industry, and SANTACO (Fourie 2003).

The launch of the TRP was meant to formalise and regulate the minibus taxi industry, replacing the 9 to 16 seats taxi fleets with 18 to 35 seats of TRP taxi vehicles. Phasing out of old taxis with new ones was intended to lessen the number of vehicles, preventing road accidents, and boost the service for public transport. When TRP was introduced, old taxis (or kombis as they were called at the time) were to be scrapped at the value of R50, 000[6], as part of the formalisation process. The purpose was to convert kombis into an operating minibus taxi industry that could abide by the rules of the land. Taxi owners were to purchase the TRP-compliant taxis. However, as Mashishi (2011:2) notes, some of the 'taxi owners rejected the advocacy of the government and it became evident that some were purchasing new non-TRP compliant taxis irrespective of the progression of the TRP'. This action by the taxi owners showed a clear opposition to the TRP, and it was evident that there are indeed doubts and differences of opinion among taxi owners about the economic impact that the TRP would likely have on them (Fourie 2003). The TRP was also aimed at improving working conditions and creating employment within the minus taxi industry across the country (Baloyi 2012:108). However, there is very little research examining the TRP's impact in the industry and, by extension, in improving precarious conditions of work (Mashishi 2011).

According to the Annual Report of the Transport Education and Training Authority (TETA), for the 2015/16 financial year, the Taxi Chamber plays a vital role in driving the agenda of transformation and formalisation of the taxi industry through 'skills development and training interventions in partnership with stakeholders from government, organised labour and employers' (Transport Education and Training Authority 2016:41). The main critical challenges within the industry continue to be road safety, bad driver behaviour and competition over routes. It has been suggested that the industry should consider forming corporates in order to address its current challenges. The corporatisation suggestion is an example of state intervention – a principle of a developmental state – and this is discussed in the following section.

1.7 Study's Objectives

[6] This was increased from from R91, 100 to R124, 000 per scrapped old taxi vehicle.

The study's main objective was to investigate precarious conditions of work and the impact thereon of government regulation (with specific reference to the TRP) on Johannesburg's minibus taxi industry. To address this goal, few secondary goals were pursued. These included:

1. How the recapitalisation of the taxi industry addressed the shortcomings of precarious, ineffective, dangerous and unreliable taxis;
2. To understand the processes of formalisation and its relation to the TRP;
3. Whether the TRP has improved working conditions of taxi drivers and other employees in the industry or deepened precariousness.

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1.8 Original Contribution to Scientific Knowledge

The importance of this thesis lies in its contribution to a sociological understanding of South Africa's minibus taxi sector as a whole. Ideally, this thesis also makes a conceptual contribution, by not only presenting the industry as a contested terrain (Lister and Dhunpath 2016), but also by highlighting the contradictions between formalisation and informalisation processes in the taxi industry, and how these represent the industry's working conditions and socio-economic livelihoods. This also makes a significant contribution to the discipline of Industrial Sociology around the debates and literature on formalisation and informalisation. I suggest that understanding working conditions in South Africa's minibus taxi industry needs a deep sensitivity to formalisation and informalisation processes and how these processes evolve. The thesis refers to the Global South precarity review, close to that of Clarke 's research (2006) that explored South Africa's post-apartheid precarious work. Like Clarke, who argued that 'the BCEA was instrumental in establishing a system of regulated precariousness' (2006:238), this thesis presents an argument for the state's lack of strategic intervention as one of the causes of precariousness within the industry. To some extent, the state lacks the strategy to intervene in the industry. The rise of regulated precariousness within the industry is also the product of the industry's lack of inclusion into public transport plans by government. This thesis uses the issue of precariousness to capture different factors, 'apart from just employment forms (i.e. permanent, casual or temporary) that help determine whether a particular worker is vulnerable' (Clarke 2006:13). The employment conditions defining the precariousness of the work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals include low levels of wages, no access to benefits, and lack of employment security, as defined by Standing (2011).

This thesis is also important in explaining the state's role in the minibus taxi industry's formalisation, development, and regulation. The thesis states that much needs to be done by the government to effectively develop the industry. What is necessary is to ensure government incorporates minibus taxis into its comprehensive plans for public transport.

This research is important in making a valuable contribution to Industrial Sociology, especially in the context in which sociologists have tended to disregard (overlook) the taxi industry as a place to study work restructuring. When I wrote this thesis, I made contributions to different government Bills, the National Transport Department's Economic Transport Regulation Bill 2018, and the Gauteng Transport Authority Bill 2018. As such, this thesis and submissions to the two departments made a valuable contribution to government policies on public transport. This thesis is also significant for the Department of Labour in its attempts to regulate labour conditions within the minibus taxi industry.

1.9 Outline of Chapters

This thesis is structured in four parts and eleven chapters. The eleven chapters are dedicated to addressing the main research question of the precarious conditions of work and the impact thereon of the TRP within the minibus taxi industry. Part One provides a discussion of the two chapters, which outline the context of the study. These two chapters also discuss the development of the minibus taxi industry in order to give historical context to the study.

Part Two includes four chapters, focusing on the literature review, theoretical framework and research methodology. Chapter 3 will study the literature used to address the research question and identify gaps in the literature and different trends in the minibus taxi industry to provide an overview of the industry's working conditions. Through the review of the literature, the chapter states that while comprehensive research on the minibus taxi industry has been carried out, there is a significant gap in the nature of precarious working conditions within the industry and the impact of the TRP thereon. The aim of this thesis is therefore to fill that void. While the thesis fills this gap, there is another noticeable gap on the role of women in the industry – that is, the gender aspect. Chapter 4 will further address the research problem by focusing on the state's role in minibus taxi industry transformation. Minibus taxi industry transformation is built around the TRP, a programme designed to change the industry. Chapter 5 will discuss the theoretical/conceptual

framework of precarity. The theory chapter on precarity will offer an original theoretical approach to the study of precarious conditions of work. Chapter 6 deals with methods used to gather data.

Part Three discusses the findings from the interviews and documentary research over four chapters (chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10). In addition, Part Three makes reference to interviews with key industry stakeholders. The aim of these chapters is to identify correspondence between the findings and the literature and to demonstrate how the findings challenge the literature.

Chapter 7 addresses the Gauteng public transport network, and minibus taxi industry's opportunities. The chapter will also discuss the challenges facing the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg. This chapter also discusses the regulation of Johannesburg's minibus taxi sector. The regulation of the minibus taxi industry in chapter 7 relates to the issues of industry transformation through the TRP. Chapter 8, concerning Johannesburg's minibus taxi sector, will address precarious conditions of work in the Global South. Chapter 8 also deals with the TRP's impact on the minibus taxi sector's precarious conditions of work. This chapter will also discuss recommendations from the interviewees.

The last part of the thesis, Part Four, centres on discussing the perceptions of the minibus taxi industry from the commuters' point of view. While the purpose of the main research question was to engage with workers of the industry to determine the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work, it was also considered important for the thesis to investigate the condition of taxis – the taxi drivers' workplace – from the commuters' point of view. Part Four has one chapter, namely chapter 9. Chapter 9 discusses the implications of the minibus taxi industry's working conditions for precariat theory and practice. The taxi drivers and taxi marshals are the precariat with precarious conditions of work. In addition, Chapter 9 will discuss the methodological contributions of the thesis and summarise all chapters.

CHAPTER 2:

South Africa's Minibus Taxi Industry

2.1 Introduction

The taxi industry was historically established by the Black community and continues to serve mostly that community (Barrett 2003). The industry's origins date back as far as 1930 in Natalspruit (now called Katlehong), when a taxi regulation stipulated that taxis (in the form of sedans) carry four (4) passengers (Mahlangu 2002). During the 1930s, taxis were predominantly used for journeys within the township. The minibus taxi industry could also be described as having the following three phases: from the early 1960s (racially-based forced removals of black people from the city centre to the township); the 1970s (taxi operators' defiance of apartheid laws); and the 1980s industry's growth in the context of government's economic reform policy.

The period from 1977-1987, as the industry grew, was marked by the minibus taxi industry's struggle to be accepted as a public transport operator. The years after 1987 saw industry deregulation combined with taxi violence as a day-to-day phenomenon in the sector. Efforts to get the industry under some form of control and regulation influenced the post-apartheid era. The TRP (discussed in chapter 4) was announced as such in 1999 to formalise the taxi industry.

The labour conditions in the industry are highlighted by the precariousness of workers' livelihoods. The way in which working conditions are arranged in the industry is an indicator of flexible labour markets and economic liberalisation. In light of this, there continues to be flexible and informal employment, union decline and growing capital mobility. Taxi drivers share a mutual physical situation grounded on uncertain employment and means of support.

Today the industry continues to play a major role in generating opportunities for employment. For example, the industry directly and indirectly provides employment for taxi drivers employed by those operating a taxi fleet; car washers washing taxis in taxi ranks; rank marshals overseeing taxi ranks; car manufacturers specialising in minibuses like Toyota and Nissan; upholsterers and mechanics.

This chapter explores South Africa's minibus taxi industry's historical development, starting with an overview of the South African political economy on which the minibus taxi industry is based. I provide a better understanding of how globalisation has had an effect on the country's labour

market transformation by analysing the political economy background in post-apartheid South Africa. Structurally, the minibus taxi industry is placed in the informal sector, and is characterised by inconsistent informalisation and formalisation processes. Although the industry continues to face challenges, it plays an important role not only in providing transportation and linking people but also in contributing to South Africa 's economy. The industry contributes to the economy both directly and indirectly, with one of its contributions to the economy being employment. It also generates economic activities for industries such as vehicle manufacturers, the insurance industry, fuel distributors etc. This chapter also explores the history of the minibus taxi industry at various points, from 1977 to 1987; from 1987 to 1994; from 1994 to 1999; and from 1999 to 2018. Finally, the chapter, as applicable to this study, explores the public transport system in Gauteng and opportunities for the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg.

2.2 Overview of South Africa's Political Economy

This subsection of the thesis locates the industry within the wider political economy context of South Africa. The industry plays a significant part in the country's economy. One cannot understand the role of the industry without positioning it within the broader context of the evolution and transformation of the political economy of South Africa. This subsection explains the structural position of the minibus taxi industry within the informal sector of the economy. The South African economy continues to face joblessness, hunger and inequality problems (South African Institute of Race Relations 2019). In addition, a drastic upsurge in casual and insecure employment around the world and in South Africa persisted (Kenny 2009). As such, it becomes necessary to contextualise the South African political economy because the minibus taxi industry is located in this context.

Analysing the South African political economy from apartheid to democracy, Terreblanche claims that 1986 was 'the real turning point in the democratic transition of South Africa' (2012:7). South Africa's political transition was not separate from the rest of the world but part of a post-World War II dramatically restructured society. At the onset of the democratic era, the new South African government opted for conservative macro-economic policies (through GEAR) aimed at accommodating global capital. While the democratic transitions observed by Terreblanche are relevant when considering the transformation of the political economy in South Africa, this thesis is focused on exploring aspects of the political economy of South Africa that are linked to the government's implementation of policies aimed mainly at creating an atmosphere conducive to

economic growth. Economic reforms implemented since the end of apartheid comprised financial freedom, removal of barriers on the free exchange of goods between South Africa and other countries, including less regulation of different sectors of the economy (Ntuli 2015). It has been argued that the ANC made choices which included transforming the economy, either through radical measures like nationalisation or more liberal economic routes that concentrated on growth (Terreblanche 2012). Economic growth and transformation in SA was envisaged to be possible only with a market-related economy – that is, a capitalist economy. It is for this reason that the negotiated settlement drew the ANC in government into wanting to create a conducive investment climate and adhering to the broad tenets of the global capitalist system.

The birth of a new democratic era opened the South African economy to other countries around the world, placing greater emphasis on the free-market and liberalisation of the economy. The ANC lowered tariffs faster than was required by the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Tariffs and other forms of trade protection came down, with exports and imports rising. Tariff and trade reform policy reforms in South Africa began in the mid-1990s, including multilateral liberalisation through the WTO and elimination of quotas, among other things (Ntuli 2015). The tariff structure in South Africa was simplified through a huge reduction in many tariff lines and reduction in the rates levied. The ANC government made attempts to embrace a "macro-economic strategy" through a policy of "Growth, Employment and Redistribution" (GEAR). During this period, the taxi industry in particular experienced renewed optimism with the implementation of the taxi recapitalisation programme. With the introduction of GEAR, the ANC government focused on privatisation and promised to reduce poverty and inequality through economic growth (Bonner and Spooner 2011; Jonas 2019). GEAR placed South Africa within the globalised economy, such that rapid globalisation was integral to the GEAR strategy. Therefore, GEAR arose out of a context where conservative macro-economic policies in South Africa were aimed at accommodating global capital and inserting South Africa into the rhythms of the global economic system (Jonas 2019). Globalisation entails increased transboundary movement of goods, resources (physical and financial), labour, and technology. Deregulation and privatisation are also at the core of globalisation. Deregulation can be described as eliminating all barriers to trade, and opening up a country to foreign investors.

As noted above, GEAR epitomised an example of a state-generated policy focused towards globalisation. GEAR was implemented with the goal of stimulating economic development. In his book, '*After Dawn: Hope After State Capture*', Mcebisi Jonas writes that GEAR 'was focused on macro-stabilisation, job creation through labour market reforms and inserting South Africa into the

global economy' (2019:9). The ANC government has long congratulated itself on their achievements in terms of economic growth. However, overwhelming evidence indicates that unemployment rates have risen dramatically in numbers since 1994 (Seekings and Nattrass 2016), the divide has expanded between those at the top and bottom of society (Godsell 2016), impoverishment has risen (Barrett 2003), and that social issues have also increased in size (Terreblanche 2012). The minibus taxi industry exists in these conditions, and has a role in addressing the unemployment problem. The unemployment rate in South Africa increased from 23.3% in the previous period to 30.8% in the third quarter of 2020, while below market estimates of 33.4% (Stats SA 2020).[7] The government continues to face social and economic challenges, ranging from service delivery, reduction of poverty, reduction of inequality, job creation and the need to improve quality of life in general. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and GEAR were meant to deal with these challenges (Kalleberg 2003). However, the challenges that these two policy programmes sought to address still persist throughout the country (Shaw 2006).

Given these obstacles, it was obvious that if the ANC were to realise its' promise of 'a better life for all', it would have to adopt another strategy. It was for this reason that the South Africa ASGISA was launched by the Cabinet in February 2006 (Theron 2014). ASGISA's goal was to strengthen the execution of policies and economic development. Policy execution, here, means achieving policy goals through good planning. With the introduction of ASGISA the following challenges were to be addressed:

- Lack of highly trained and dedicated public sector personnel;
- Shortage of human capital to enforce policies;
- Lack of funding;
- Abuse and funds embezzlement;
- Absence of human growth;
- Absence of institutions of state; and
- Informal sector entry barriers, market boundaries and new investment incentives limited (Theron 2014).

In 2004, the SA government had to eliminate unemployment and poverty by 2014, in line with ASGISA, and thus consider the ideal 'better life for all' (Nelson and Bruijn 2005). Essential to

[7] Since quarterly data became available in 2008, this is the highest jobless rate – accessed 04 December 2020, https://tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate

ASGISA is to use first-economy / formal sector power to tackle the second economy / informal sector. Neither GEAR nor ASGISA were able to generate desired job creation in the region, however. GEAR 'failed to achieve what it promised on poverty and the reduction of inequality' (Streak 2004:278). GEAR 's growth, according to Streak (2004), has had the following three flaws: First, the expectation that budget deficit cuts stimulate inflation through private sector investment, leading to 'lower budget deficits and interest rates' (Streak 2004:280), but GEAR ignored this, relying on the presumption that private sector investment would not lead to a decline in interest rates. Second, the plan for growth and job development 'depended on foreign direct investment (FDI)' (Streak 2004:280). As a result, Streak claims that GEAR was a neo-liberal tactic intended to incorporate South Africa into the global economy. Third, the GEAR strategy 'relies heavily – both in design and execution – on investment-led growth in the private sector for job creation, and poverty reduction' (Streak 2004:280). Streak argues that the net result of these initiatives has done little to alleviate the problems of poverty and unemployment.

To address these challenges, a new national economic policy was introduced in 2010, in the form of the New Growth Path (NGP). However, the NGP was criticised for placing too much focus on government intervention and not being investment friendly (National Planning Commission Vision 2030). There was also a critique from the left, with the NGP criticised for not representing a break with policy thinking that was encapsulated by GEAR. In 2012, the National Planning Commission (NPC), through Parliament and Cabinet, piloted the National Development Plan (NDP). The vision of the NDP is that, by 2030, unemployment and inequality should have been halved (National Planning Commission Vision 2030). It is a contention of this thesis that to realise this vision, the minibus taxi industry will need to be taken into account, given the role it plays in the creation of employment opportunities.

The thesis locates the minibus taxi industry within the broader political economy context of GEAR, NGP and NDP. This context is useful to study because it deals with power, structure and inequality. The industry is located within this context of inequality and unemployment. It is contended that Government could strengthen its focus in addressing challenges related to public transport, for example, around regulation of the industry. However, while regulation is significant, it might have unintended consequences leading to oligopolies where some taxi owners choose to operate in a free-market without restrictions (Rena and Herani 2007). Oligopolies would arise when some taxi owners and their taxis dominate the industry. There continue to be cases where taxi owners have total control of the industry with minimal state intervention. I briefly explain (in

chapter 7) the unintended consequence of regulation as leading to oligopolies. It is worth noting that the industry plays a significant part in the country's economy and employs many people directly, including marshals and drivers. Given that South Africa continues to face high levels of unemployment (at 30.8% in the third quarter of 2020) (Stats SA 2020), it should not underestimate the value of the industry as it is situated in the informal sector. In addition, the taxi industry has the potential to benefit from economic growth by engaging in the full value-chain of public transport. In order for the industry to engage fully in this value chain, training and business growth need to be the priority. The integration of the industry into a larger public transport network, with the provision of subsidised public transport services, may offer new opportunities. Thus, while the industry straddles the formal-informal sector/economy, it plays an important role in the broader economy of the country. The following subsection discusses the industry's historical development.

2.3 South African Minibus Taxi Industry History

This section explores the history and growth of the South African minibus taxi industry, with particular reference to the following periods: 1977 through 1987; 1987 through 1994; 1994 through 1999; and 1999 through 2018. The black community founded the industry, which continues to mainly serve this community (Baloyi 2012). The industry expanded within the framework of the policy of deregulation of the apartheid government, which was implemented as described below in 1987. Nevertheless, the minibus taxi sector was in service since the 1930s, for example in Natalspruit (now known as Katlehong), where taxis were permitted to carry up to four passengers in the form of sedans (Godsell 2016). Sedans were primarily used during this period for transportation in black townships. The urban black population was prohibited from entering the industry in large numbers under segregation laws, often due to inadequate financial resources. Around the time, a black individual would have trouble driving a taxi.[8]

2.3.1 From the Minibus Taxi Industry's Regulation to Deregulation

The 1977-1987 period was largely marked by the minibus taxi sector's struggle to be accepted as an operator of public transport. Fourie (2003:32) claims that minibus taxis played no significant role in the transport industry up to 1977. Taxis that were used only for trips to black townships were Sedan vehicles, as well as Valiants and Chevrolets. From 1977 onwards, taxi operators –

[8] This was due to the implementation of a policy ("One-Bantu-One-Business") which meant that Black people could not participate in the minibus taxi sector and were to be involved in one business prior to 1977 (Barrett 2003). It changed with the advent of deregulation in the late 1970s.

new entrants as well as those who used to operate sedan vehicles – started to operate minibuses with ten seats (kombi taxis) along different routes (Venter 2013). This was on top of the 1977 Road Transportation Act. In 1977, the government established the Breda Commission on minibus taxi sector regulation (Nkambule and Govender 2014), fearing that continued interference in the transportation sector would lead to sustained boycotts. Following that, the 1977 Road Transportation Act came into effect. It proposed freer trade and less regulation for the minibus taxi industry (Gibbs 2014).

Barrett argues that 'a characteristic of apartheid and the institutionalised racism it implemented in the early 1960s was that black people, particularly Africans, had very limited legal access to business opportunities' (2003:6). At the time, due to the so-called "One-Bantu-One-Business" policy, a black person could not operate a taxi. This policy allowed black people to be involved in one company only before 1977 (Fourie 2003). During this time, companies and collaborations were banned, including financial institutions in Africa, industries and wholesale concerns. This instance was altered during the time of deregulation, introduced in 1987.

The only people permitted to trade (before the industry was deregulated in 1987) were those eligible under the Urban Areas Act of 1945 for urban rights. At this time, anyone wishing to make an application to join the industry was required to be a legal resident in the urban areas and be registered as a voter, have a Daily Labourer's permit and have adequate job records (Fourie and Pretorius 2005) to receive a permit. Being legally in urban areas was to a large extent informed by the 1952 implemented Apartheid pass system. The apartheid pass system controlled rural migrants' influx into urban areas, fostering cheap labour.

The pass system involved the systematic use of internal passes during the years of colonial rule to monitor the activities of black South Africans. Key to this, the goal was to limit rural people's movement into urban areas, that is, "influx control" (Alexander and Chan 2004). This made it impossible for black people to get involved in business as first they needed to obtain a valid permit. The government engaged very strongly in the transportation sector during this time.

The radical development of the taxi industry in the 1980s thus reflected a change in apartheid state policy from historically draconian black-trading policies in general to taxi industry accommodation in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1977, the implementation of the 1977 Road Transportation Act made it easier for black operators to enter the taxi industry (significant in terms

of increasing black participation in the industry) and described a minibus as a motor vehicle designed to hold more than 9 passengers (including the driver).

2.3.2 Deregulation of the Minibus Taxi Industry

A wave of deregulation, combined with taxi violence, ensued from 1987 and became part of the industry. Nevertheless, demand for the industry increased and drivers worked mostly (illegally) without licenses. During this time, taxi operators 'were subjected to fines, and sometimes forfeiture of their cars, with compliance coming largely from the South African Railways Police Force' (Barrett 2003:6). The Welgemoed Commission, formed in 1983 to investigate the industry, suggested that minibus taxis be made illegal by refusing to grant more licenses (Ingle 2009). Nevertheless, there was a recommendation to grant a small amount of permits that was eventually implemented in 1989. The industry nevertheless continued to develop at a rapid pace. As such, a 16-seater was legalised for taxi use in 1986.

The deregulation process began in 1987, and opportunities were created for different markets to join the minibus taxi sector. As such, any applicant could request permission to operate a minibus taxi sector (Barrett 2003). This led to an unprecedented growth in the minibus taxi industry during the period 1987 to 1994. The taxi industry's dominant position over other modes of transportation was strengthened by commuters' belief that it was a community-based industry that defied apartheid laws without subsidies (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004).

The minibus taxi industry became a form of black capital accumulation, in other words, an activity in which profits were reinvested, new taxi fleets were purchased, and thus the total amount of capital increased. Nevertheless, the industry continued to face competition over roads, for example in Soweto, Alexandra and Katlehong (Ingle 2009), where taxi wars were still waged. Violence began to play an increasing role in the industry. As a consequence, 'after the 1994 general election, taxi abuse began, and even intensified' (Fourie 2003:37). Essentially, before 1994, taxi wars were less in number. Violence in the post-apartheid era became more common, decentralised and criminal in nature, as the industry was deregulated after an era of strict regulations that limited the industry to ferrying few passengers. Public attempts to tackle the minibus taxi industry were non-existent between 1987 and 1994. The government became part of the problem instead of the solution when violence erupted in the industry. This occurred as a result of negligent police behaviour in the post-apartheid era, with police using their positions to

promote fights between taxi associations (Sekhonyane and Dugard 2004). An increasing number of people were dying on the road in taxi accidents, leading to concerns over road safety.

The industry has faced numerous problems related to a poorly maintained and aging vehicle fleet; over-traded routes; industry dispute and violence; low profit margins; high vehicle purchasing and maintenance costs; lack of expertise and sufficient training; inadequate road safety; and poor taxi drivers' conditions of work (Boudreaux 2006).

2.3.3 From Deregulation to the Formalisation Process

The post-apartheid era continues to be informed by efforts to formalise the industry through, for example, the establishment of the TRP in 1999 (Mahlangu 2002) and the current Revised TRP. This came in the wake of continued taxi violence, despite post-1994 attempts by the newly elected government to stabilise the industry. In 1995, the government set up the National Taxi Task Team (NTTT) in an effort to boost taxi industry efficiency and safety on the road, increase economic profitability, and end disputes (Fourie 2003). The NTTT's proposal was to monitor and formalise the industry. Furthermore, as revealed in the finding chapters, this remains a challenge for the state, particularly where the industry remains characterised by Clarke's (2006:238) concept of "regulated precariousness". The state's failure in implementing recommendations from the NTTT is the reason for regulated precariousness, subsequent from a lack of strategic state involvement in the industry, as I address in the chapters on findings. The following subsection discusses the cycle of formalisation, the state's effort to change the industry.

2.3.4 The Formalisation Process and Participation in the Bus Rapid Transit System

Since 1999, the government has turned its focus to reforming the minibus taxi industry in terms of the recapitalisation programme in order to address the problems and shortcomings of the regulatory process. This was meant to control the taxi industry, as it envisioned the development of a new taxi industry with larger 18 seats and 35 seats diesel-powered vehicles to be controlled from the outset (Fourie 2003).[9]

The National Land Transportation Transition Act (NLTTA), Act No 22 of 2000 is the most recent reform in transport sector legislation. The aim of this Act is to ensure restructuring of land

[9] The Department of Transport, Trade and Industry, Minerals and Energy and Finance was to subsidise taxi owners to purchase the new 18 to 35 seat taxis jointly developed the TRP.

transport, particularly public transport. In the South African economy, for example, the minibus taxi industry continues to play an important role by generating job opportunities and linkages between the formal and informal economy. The industry is the most regular, accessible and reliable mode of transport, with a market share of about 65% in the public transport sector (Competition Commission 2020).

After years of initial collaboration between the minibus taxi industry and various stakeholders in Johannesburg, negotiations started in 2009 to address the concerns of minibus taxi operators via the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) service or what is generally referred to as the Rea Vaya (McCaul and Ntuli 2011). Minibus taxi owners' involvement in the BRT was intended to ensure that operators removed their current vehicles from competing routes, in return for participation in the new BRT scheme. Commitment to minibus taxi operators for their inclusion in the BRT scheme resulted in the establishment of a bus operating company, "taxi-owned" Rea Vaya, though the BRT system, which continues to link Soweto and the centre of Johannesburg (Henama and Sifolo 2017). As such, a description of the public transport system in Gauteng is given in the following section; a background in which the minibus taxi industry is situated and most dominant for the purposes of this thesis.

2.4 Urban Spatial Planning and Transportation in Gauteng

The preceding subsections discussed the minibus taxi industry's historic growth. The public transit network in Gauteng and other South African cities can be related directly to apartheid policy (Logan 2012). During this period, public transport services in Gauteng and across the country were created to link the peripheral townships of Soweto, for example, with economic central business districts. Racial segregation exercised pre-apartheid was also practised in the transportation sector (Simpson et al. 2012).

Since the imposition of segregation laws during apartheid, black people have been abandoned on the outskirts of towns and forced to live outside the cities. Therefore, travelling distances were long and costly, inhibiting an ability to access jobs and urban services. The results of this are still being felt in the South African landscape today. According to Simpson et al (2012:14), 'South African cities inherited residential areas that are poorly connected in terms of transport, with those least able to pay having to travel the furthest'. The effects of this poor urban planning continue to affect urban infrastructure today. Sociologically speaking, it has resulted in huge inequalities in

accessing transportation and a lack of connection between townships and central business districts. The industry is critical in strengthening this connection.

The working class were historically located at a distance from employment opportunities. Because of this, transport subsidies from government were important (Baloyi 2012). In the 1970s, government started paying a higher proportion to the subsidies of bus and rail services, with the exception of the taxi industry. Due to the increasing use of the taxi industry, bus and rail services experienced a decline in the number of commuters. But, 'despite the rapid decline in bus and rail passengers using the services provided, there has been a rapid increase in the subsidy costs' (Logan 2012:16). Therefore, the number of passengers benefiting from government subsidies decreased.

Throughout the world, transportation and urban planning are inextricably linked. They are critical in providing 'the foundation for the development and impact on the design of all cities and urban centres' (Logan 2012:21). Activities within the central business districts, in the cities of Gauteng province, are carried out in different ways for various socio-economic reasons. Therefore, transportation can be considered as a key input in achieving these socio-economic reasons (van Ryneveld 2018a). Since transportation and urban planning are linked, poor transportation and land use integration reduces the liveability of the environment. The minibus taxi industry is connected to issues of spatial planning and urban settlement. This is important in the context where the industry was historically segregated by the apartheid government. The industry provides the most appropriate service to the spatial context within city centres and townships. Therefore, it continues to be a dominant mode of passenger carrier, even in contexts where rail and BRT systems are operating (Venter 2013). Given this continuing dominant mode within the public transport value-chain, as explained below, greater efforts should be made to transform urban spatial structures.

Public transport plays a significant role in people's daily lives around the world and makes social mobility easier. Its' position is mostly noticeable because of the impact on people's access to work, education, health care and overall economic development. The minibus taxi industry accounts for 68% of work trips within the public transport value-chain, followed by buses and trains (Mmadi 2012). The Gauteng Land Transport Framework (2009-2014) notes that most users of public transport in Gauteng (73%) make use of minibus taxis. Bus passengers account for 19% of rail users (8%) who make up the majority (Roads and Transport Department: Gauteng Province

2013). The 25-year Integrated Transport Master Plan announced that in Gauteng, organised into ‘185 associations, there are over 50 000 minibus taxis operating. Similarly, the bus services are operated by approximately 3 000 buses owned by a mixture of private, parastatal and municipal entities. Approximately 1.846 rail cars are used in Gauteng’ (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:42).

The Government's duty is to create an enabling atmosphere for efficient operation of public transport in terms of policy and legislative direction. The DoT; the Gauteng Roads and Transport Department (GDoRT) and the local municipalities have specific duties, including organising and promoting various project implementation activities. The responsibility of the Department of Transport is to develop ‘national policy, legislation, co-ordinating cross-border and inter-provincial planning, operating licenses and the construction and maintenance of the national road network through SANRAL’ (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:43). In addition, it is the GDoRT's duty to formulate regional policies, laws and regulations, as well as involving public transit operators in network planning, registration and licensing and their operations, providing subsidies for commuter buses and building and maintaining the regional road network' (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:43). In addition, the municipalities are responsible for 'developing Integrated Transport Plans, Integrated Rapid Public Transport Networks (IRPTNs), introducing BRT systems, ensuring sufficient public transit services, building and maintaining the Strategic Public Transit Network and law enforcement' (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:43).

In Gauteng, the minibus taxi industry operates alongside numerous public transport operators. A list of the public transport operators in Gauteng is given in the following table. In Johannesburg, minibus taxis account for 73% of the value chain of public transport, making taxis the primary means of access to public transport by people (Godsell 2016:9). The minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg is important not only for the regular mobility of the city but also for the intensive transport planning of the city.

Table 2.1: Public transport operators in Gauteng

Industry	Name	Ownership	Area of operation
Rail	Gautrain, Rapid Rail Link	Concession under the GMA Provincial	Regional, Rapid Rail
	Metrorail, PRASA	Government Agency Parastatal	Regional, Metro
BRT	Rea Vaya	Private Company	Johannesburg
	Areng	City of Tshwane	Pretoria
Commuter Bus	Putco, Gauteng Coaches, JR Choe, Agamalang, etc. Atteridgeville Bus Service, Northwest Star	Private Companies Parastatal	Previously disadvantaged area to employment nodes
Municipal Bus	Metrobus, Tshwane Bus Service, Ekurhuleni Bus Service, Brakpan Bus Company	City of Johannesburg, City of Tshwane, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality	Mainly within boundaries of pre-1994 metropolitan areas
Scholar Transport	Various SMME operators	Private, individual owners	Contracted by Gauteng Department of Education to rural schools
Minibus taxi	Various taxi associations	Private, individual owners	Unscheduled commuter services

Source: 25-year Integrated Transport Master Plan, Department of Roads and Transport, Gauteng Province.

The Rea Vaya system is closely linked to Johannesburg's Spatial Development Framework (SDF) with the goal of linking various economic nodes and residential areas in the city (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2013). The City of Johannesburg (CoJ)'s Integrated Development Plan (IDP) specifies 'that by 2020, 80% of the population of the city will reside within

one kilometer of a BRT station' (Logan 2012:74). The CoJ has shown its commitment to BRT through Rea Vaya, by developing the following guiding principles:

i. All policy and planning documents produced, with particular reference to spatial and development planning documents by or for the City of Johannesburg must give priority to public transport strategies. The goal should be to reduce the use of private cars, especially during periods of peak traffic;
ii. Ensure public transport demands are matched by the correct mode of transport to maximise public transport integration;
iii. Rea Vaya brand elements such as dedicated bus lanes remain pure to Rea Vaya, environmentally friendly, disability friendly and customer service being the norm;
iv. Supporting a stable future for Rea Vaya. This idea would entail adhering to the pledge of renewable fuel, as well as seeking new sources of revenue to continue investing sufficient funds in the system's high-quality facilities and maintenance. At institutional level, it takes time to develop strong organisations and skills inside and outside the city to handle various aspects of Rea Vaya; and
v. Rea Vaya is required to "live the transport values of the town of Johannesburg." This involves ensuring that all workers uphold the principles of responsibility, collaboration, integrity, loyalty and ubuntu, and that Rea Vaya allows and encourages passengers to accept and practice the same principles (Logan 2012:74).

Despite government efforts to transform public transport through the Bus Rapid Transport system, there have been inadequate changes implemented towards the integration of urban planning and transportation (van Ryneveld 2018a). Over the years, transport and urban planning have been considered as reactive rather than being progressive and forward-thinking. In this way, transport and urban planning approaches simply deal with existing demands rather than addressing increased accessibility and convenience for ordinary people who make use of minibus taxis, for example. Therefore, the current transport and urban planning system does not favour the working poor who make use of minibus taxis, especially because they are not subsidised.

2.4.1 Minibus Taxi Industry

The context of transportation and urban planning in relation to the industry is defined by the existence of registered and unregistered minibus taxis. In 2016, there were approximately 300

876 registered minibus taxis. Un-roadworthy and unlicensed minibus taxis were also included in this number, placing the lives of minibus taxi workers and passengers at risk – in the sense of precariousness. The DoT reported the following, concerning un-roadworthy and unlicensed minibus taxis between December 2015 and December 2016:

- The number of minibuses that are un-roadworthy (but licensed) were reported to have increased to 35 718 (2.91%) in December 2016 from 34 707 in December 2015 (Department of Transport 2016:19).
- The number of unlicensed minibuses also increased to 6 494 (12.98%) in December 2016, from 5 748 in December 2015 (Department of Transport 2016:19).
- Between 2016 and 2017, the number of unlicensed minibuses increased by 781 (13.04%) in March 2017 from 5 990 minibuses.

This means that, between 2015 and 2017, there was an increase in the number of unlicensed minibuses. Un-roadworthy minibus taxis are those with owners who refuse to apply their vehicles for compulsory annual roadworthy checks or ownership changes. Unlicensed minibuses are those taxi owners who do not renew their vehicle licenses within the timeframe required. This condition implies that the lives of commuters – the majority of the working poor – continue to be at risk by travelling in precarious minibus taxis. Un-roadworthy and unlicensed minibus taxis also place taxi drivers in precarious conditions of work, where taxis are not in good condition (un-roadworthy) and are at risk of being impounded for being in this condition and not licensed. This in turn places commuters in a condition where they must travel in fear of being involved in accidents. While precarious work was associated only with the retail and hospitality industries in the 1980s, and considered an atypical type of work (Hlatshwayo 2018), it continues to be the norm in the minibus taxi industry.

The increase in taxis in South Africa has taken place at the same time as a rise in drivers' violent actions on the road, endangering the lives of all road users in South Africa. Minibus taxis are among Africa's primary modes of public transport. It is estimated that South Africa has approximately 200,000 minibus taxis, with 137,000 legal taxis operating in the country (having relevant operating licenses) spread across provinces as follows:

- Gauteng: 35,000
- Western Cape: 20,000
- Kwa-Zulu Natal: 23,000

- Free State: 8,000
- Limpopo: 12,000
- Mpumalanga: 15,000
- Eastern Cape: 12,000
- Northern Cape: 2,000
- North West: 10,000 (Department of Transport 2020).

It is estimated that the overall number of illegal taxi vehicles operating without operating licenses is anywhere from 63,000 to 100,000 (Competition Commission 2020). The taxi industry is estimated to employ between 400 000 and 600 000 people across the country, according to an annual report from the Transport Education and Training Authority (TETA) for the 2015/16 financial year (Transport Education and Training Authority 2016:11). Taxi operators/owners in South Africa number over approximately 300 000 (Department of Transport 2017). This implies that many taxi operators/owners employ at the most one taxi driver, unless the operator has more than one minibus taxi, whereby he or she employs two or three drivers. Also, other taxi owners employ both a taxi driver and taxi marshal. According to the Competition Commission, 'the industry is responsible for employing 300 000 drivers, 100 000 rank marshals, 100 000 car washers and 150 000 informal traders at taxi ranks' (2020:12).

It is important to remember that the minibus taxi industry remains a major player in the country's economy and directly employs many people including drivers, rank marshals etc. Given that South Africa continues to face high levels of unemployment and deprivation, we should not underestimate the value of the minibus taxi industry within the informal sector. 'The taxi industry grew in an atmosphere of slow economic growth and high unemployment' (2003:29) according to Fourie. Through exploiting labour, and completely disregarding health regulations and taxation, the taxi industry tended to maintain an unregulated business style. The abuse of labour, as determined by Sector Determination, is epitomised by taxi drivers working long hours, despite being paid below minimum wage. Taxi owners accumulate wealth at one pole while employees (taxi drivers) accumulate suffering, pain of labour, and violence at the opposite pole at the same time (Schalekamp et al. 2010). Taxi employers also continue to bypass labour laws / laws which attempt to regulate the industry. This background gives rise to the development of oligopolies in which taxi owners have full control of their minibus taxis and operate in a free market with no state regulations.

In addition to this, the minibus taxi industry provides opportunities for a number of informal, ancillary economies that are dependent on it, for example, the cooking vendors and those selling sweets at taxi ranks. The industry plays an important role in the economic growth of the Gauteng Province. As such, the development of a transport system supporting economic growth should 'not be to the detriment of the viability and sustainability of the industry' (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:56). Public transport in Gauteng is expected to grow over the next 25 years, with around 6 million people added in order to cope with the transport demand and provide viable alternative options to private use.

In addition, due to inclusion in the entire value chain of public transport, the taxi industry has the potential to benefit from economic empowerment. In order for the industry to engage fully in this value chain, training and business growth need to be the priority. The industry's incorporation into a broader public transport network with the provision of subsidised public transport services could bring new opportunities (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2015). This means that operators in the taxi industry will need to 'organise themselves into business operating entities or companies, with which the transport authority can contract subsidised services' (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:57). Many of the opportunities for the taxi industry, to be included in a subsidised network of public transport, include:

- Taxi operators gaining access to operational subsidies;
- Improvement of the feasibility and sustainability of operators and their operations;
- Further incentives for the taxi industry to commercialise;
- Improved safety and quality of service provided to travellers; and
- Assistance to the industry to advance to bigger business (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:57).

Imaniranzi (2015) states that these prospects would be practical once the minibus taxi sector is integral in the "subsidised public transport network" by completing its business commercialisation component. However, the industry needs dedication and determination from both government and taxi owners to become part of the subsidised public transport network. Some taxi owners might be against the commercialisation process. The commercialisation of the industry refers to different or all aspects that are required to be in place in order for the government to be able to contract legally with the industry. These include the transformation of the industry into a legal entity; having a taxi clearance certificate and having formal bookkeeping practices within the entity

(Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013). Perhaps, what the industry needs in order to benefit from the subsidies by the state is to form cooperatives.

Since 2016, the Gauteng Province's Department of Roads and Transport embarked on the Ntirhisano Taxi Outreach Programme to strengthen connections between the Department and taxi operators within the province (Gauteng Roads and Transport Department 2018). In addition, the Provincial Government of Gauteng has established the following eight phase plan for the taxi sector:

- The issuance of 22-seater replacement vehicle licenses;
- Fast-tacking of long-standing applications for licenses meeting enforcement requirements;
- Processing of new applications for operating licenses which are on hold or pending in various regions and which are based on the municipalities' integrated transport plans;
- Renewal of driver's license disks and payment by selected taxi operators of unpaid motor vehicle fees;
- Promoting the roadworthiness of minibus taxis and transport policies in schools;
- Supporting a public safety initiative led by the Department of Community Safety and encouraging more responsible taxi driver behaviour;
- Tackling the unacceptable ways of violent confrontation in the taxi industry;
- Promoting concrete economic empowerment initiatives by formally licensed corporate organizations within the taxi industry connected to the public transport sector across different regions (Gauteng Provincial Government 2017:1).

These are certainly sound plans for the future engagement of government with the taxi industry. It is clear from the list that some of the challenges to be addressed include the issuing of licenses for vehicles, the roadworthiness of taxis and high levels of conflict and violence within the industry. These plans are, arguably, meant to address challenges facing the industry. However, an improvement in the minibus taxi industry's working conditions does not seem to be a priority. Also, it is not clear whether the Ntirhisano Taxi Outreach Programme was about improving the precarious conditions of work within the industry.

Within the City of Johannesburg, the minibus taxi industry is considered the predominant form of public transport. It is estimated that 32 short-distance taxi associations manage about 12 300

private taxis, 'running 1 000 separate routes (counting both directions), with an average length of 17.8 km operated from at least 450 starting points.' (City of Johannesburg IDP Review 2017:112). Approximately 65% of minibus taxi passengers ride the entire way using one taxi, but 24% require a mix of taxi and 11% transfer to trains or buses. Among other things, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) made a pledge to collaborate with the taxi minibus industry in controlling taxi ranks. The minibus taxis have different public transport locations; these are Metro Mall at CBD, Baragwanath, Wynberg/Alexandra Pan Africa, Lenasia, Cosmo Town, Midrand, Diepsloot and Zandspruit. Gandhi Square is the Metrobus intersection with the most popularity. Minibus taxis conduct around 9.8 million passenger trips within the CoJ. Minibus taxis operate from taxi ranks where passengers board for different destinations. There are usually loading, ablution and shopping facilities in the ranks (Oosthuizen and Mhlambi 2002). Shelters, pavement and seats are included in the loading facilities. In terms of maintenance, the ablution facilities are the most significant element of the rank, because if not handled well, they easily get out of control. Shopping facilities can be broken down into three major categories: informal traders' locations, kiosks and shopping units (Fourie 2003). These are all market opportunities originating from taxi rank operations.

During Transport October in 2013, the CoJ launched the Strategic Integrated Transport Plan Framework (SITPF). In the CoJ, the minibus taxi is considered to provide what one could call the "shot-left"[10] service. Minibus taxis in the City also provide a highly convenient service. However, the service is not always safe and reliable. In order to ensure that minibus taxis in the City provide a quality, safe, reliable and affordable network, including job security for drivers, the City developed the following key interventions to achieve this:

- Assisting the city's taxi industry to re-fleet, in particular to switch to greener vehicles. (However, it is unclear how this would benefit the industry. The switch to greener vehicles will not be that simple. It will require engagements with the taxi owners).
- Piloting and expanding the incorporation of minibus-taxis into the EMV-based (Europay, Mastercard and Visa) integrated fare system. It is important to mention that this would require dedication from the taxi owners to consider the benefits of this fare system.

[10] Shot-left originates from everyday South African taxi language. A commuter that wants a ride to a destination close by will say "shot left, driver", to indicate that he or she wants to jump-off around the next corner.

- Incorporating minibus-taxi services into integrated passenger information. This will also require engagements with the taxi owners to consider the benefits of having their taxis incorporated into integrated passenger information.
- Improving the regulatory environment to ensure that precarious vehicles do not operate and that there is a match between supply and demand.
- Stronger law enforcement to ensure law-abiding road traffic behaviour by minibus taxis. While this is important, it seems to suggest that the only problem is that industry does not abide by road traffic regulations. It has been suggested that there are traffic officers who accept bribes from the taxi drivers (Mmadi 2012). So, it appears that officers also need stronger enforcement to make sure that they do not accept bribes.
- Providing safe, secure, attractive and accessible facilities for minibus taxi-users (commuters and drivers) such as shelters, ranks and holding areas integrated with other modes.
- Performance contracting and scheduling minibus-taxis where appropriate. The CoJ would need to explain how this can happen in the context where the industry is commuter driven (City of Johannesburg 2013:25).

It is worth noting that such measures do not involve the enhancement of the minibus taxi industry's working conditions. The following section addresses the implications for this thesis from the preceding subsections in this sense.

2.5 From the Policy Context, History of the Minibus Taxi Industry to Urban Spatial Planning: Implications for the Thesis

The previous sections discussed the industry's systemic history and its development. The sections provide a critical framework for the study in which to work from an analytical viewpoint through the debate about the minibus taxi industry. As such, from an academic research viewpoint, this work provides the history of the public transport system in relation to the minibus taxi industry. Current policy strategies expose flaws in the incorporation of the minibus taxi industry into public transport plans, as stated in the chapters on findings. Government has essentially chosen to attempt to replace the informal taxi industry with various formal modes of transport. In other words, government's policy appears to marginalise and replace the minibus taxi industry by prioritising formal modes of public transport. As South Africa moved from apartheid to democracy, the industry was hoped to be more completely incorporated into public transport plans. Heller argues that 'now that the euphoria of these transformations has passed,

we are beginning to raise the sobering question of what difference democracy makes to growth, or, to be more specific, whether democracy can help redress the extreme social and economic disparities that characterise developing countries' (2001:131). Therefore, it remains questionable whether government is succeeding in transforming the minibus taxi industry.

Post-apartheid South Africa has presented a situation where citizens have expectations that their needs would be met. It is in this sense that Bénit-Gbaffou and Oldfield suggest that 'the modes of engagement with the state often include and frame the state perceptions of low-income people, their aspirations and their own citizenship' (2011:445).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter suggested that Black Africans started the minibus taxi industry and the sector primarily continues to represent the black community. In the following three phases, the development of the South African minibus taxi industry can be considered: from the early 1960s (racially-based, violent relocation of Black people from the city centre to townships); the 1970s (the taxi operators' defiance of apartheid laws); and the rise of the taxi industry in the 1980s as part of the government's economic reform policy. The industry is structurally located within the informal sector. It straddles the formal and informal economies. In addition, the industry is perceived to be marked by exploitative labour practices, such as taxi drivers who work long hours, despite earning low salaries. In Gauteng Province, the taxi industry operates alongside the subsidised or formal public transport system. There are various measures in place that are meant to transform the industry into a thriving role player in the broader transport value-chain across the province. However, improving the industry’s appalling labour conditions do not seem to be high on the government’s priority list. The historical development of the industry has shown the extent to which it has been overlooked by government.

PART TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

In this section, the thesis focuses on the literature review, theoretical/conceptual framework and the research methodology. Chapter 3 engages with literature which assists in answering the research question by identifying gaps in the literature and various patterns in the minibus taxi industry which provides an interpretation of working conditions within the industry. The chapter stresses that, while extensive research has been conducted on the industry, there is a noticeable gap in the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work within the industry. Chapter 4 further answers the research problem by focusing on the state's position in reforming the minibus taxi industry. The industry's transformation is built around the TRP, a programme which was designed to change the industry. Chapter 5 is the theoretical/conceptual framework of the notion of precarity which guides this thesis. The theory chapter offers an original theoretical approach to the study of precarious conditions of work. Chapter 6 is the methodology chapter and covers two broad areas: methodology and research methods describing what was done to collect the data.

CHAPTER 3:

Minibus Taxi Industry's Work

3.1 Introduction

When reviewing the minibus taxi industry's literature, it is worth remembering that taxi operators/owners employ staff as drivers, marshals, mechanics and receptionists, to name a few. In most cases, the industry involves fleet owners. There are also people who are owner-drivers. Taxi drivers are obliged to take passengers to their destinations. The taxi owner usually decides on the remuneration for the taxi driver. Most of the taxi drivers are paid 25% of the total amount they accumulate per week. Taxi drivers are not provided with payslips, there are no deductions for unemployment benefits, and hence no unemployment cover (Neumann et al. 2015). Cost minimisation occurs in exploitation of labour, and there are hazardous drivers' conditions of work, as well as the industry continuing to be characterised by conflict and violence. The job undertaken everyday by taxi drivers and taxi marshals puts them under pressure (along with the vehicles' un-roadworthiness as owners try to cut costs). Those are some of the causes of the frequent taxi incidents occurring on South African highways.

The minibus taxi industry continues to face problems associated with the high cost of buying and maintaining vehicles; lack of expertise and proper training; inadequate road safety; and poor working conditions for taxi drivers. The state has attempted to regulate the industry's labour process through TRP and the work of the DoL, by pushing for the existence of the following forms of securities within the industry:

- labour market security (participation in labour market);
- Safety at work (protection of employees from unfair job losses, collective agreements, convention regulation);
- Safety at work (protection of workers from job losses);
- Work safety (good working conditions, health and safety);
- skill reproduction security (workers have access to skill acquisition); and
- representative security (workers must have a security capacity to bargain and strong "voice" to ensure distributive justice in the workplace (Department of Labour 2017).

According to Standing (2011:10), workers lacking these forms of securities, form the precariat. This chapter reviews literature on the minibus taxi sector's labour process. The chapter also

engages with organising the unorganised within the industry, and a brief discussion of gaps in the literature.

3.2 Labour Process within South Africa's Minibus Taxi Industry

When understanding the essence of work in the minibus taxi industry, it is important to remember that in terms of how the labour process is structured and who has control, the industry is different from other industries. In other words, the way work is traditionally done is different. The taxi industry is dominated by commuters and so taxis have to run as long as there are commuters to be picked up. Capitalists control the labour-process within the capitalist system to maximise income. Within the labour process, the interests of capital and wage-labour are conflicting (Allen 2014). As Edwards (2018) states, the process of labour is essentially an area of class struggle, and the workplace is what can be considered a disputed environment, and this in itself exposes the conflicting existence of labour power within the process of labour. In this context, what Edwards calls “structured antagonism” ‘exists because exploitation is inscribed in the organisation of work’ (2018:3). While labour process analysis is important in informing debates on the nature of work, Burawoy (2008) writes that since 1974, labour studies have shifted their attention from the examination of labour process to studying the labour movement. The labour movement has faced significant transformation, with the demise of old industrial business unionism and the growing strength of “New Labour” (Burawoy 2008) with its focus on the service sector.

According to Burawoy, ‘in New Labour, sociologists have found a new public’ (2008:371). The change of focus from labour process to labour movement was a shift from structure to agency – from process to movement. Edwards argues that 'a distinctive labour process study of work needs to maintain its core strengths' (2010:42), which requires an engagement in the production process's job experience. Such a study of the labour process would also be concerned in principle with the conflicting connections between capital and labour. This thesis presents a theoretical concern, close to Edwards' view, with the conflicting relationship between taxi owners and taxi drivers as well as taxi marshals. It follows that Edwards (2010) prodded that 'it would be of great benefit if analysts took it upon themselves to collect and publish data on such issues as wage levels, leave rates, local unemployment rates and employee labor market perceptions' (2010:42). As such, I collected data on the minibus taxi industry’s employee wages and working conditions.

Harry Braverman intensified the labour process debate by 'rejuvenating critical scholarship on social science job organization' (Spencer 2000:223). Braverman's Labour and Monopoly Capital, however, met with some criticism for providing 'a one-sided (objectivist) view of the production of labour, ignoring the subjective aspect of work' (Spencer 2000:223). Since Braverman, labour process analysis has developed to the extent that it recognises and addresses his omissions and limitations (O'Doherty and Willmott 2009). As such, this thesis explores the subjectivity that Braverman failed to consider in his study of the labour process. It offers an understanding of the subjectivity – the precariousness of work from the point of view of management and labour in line with Warhurst's position that 'the organisation and control of the labour process can be shaped by workers' subjective experience or anticipation of the exigencies and actions of capital, hence, the possibility of resistance by workers' (1998:472).

According to Thompson, 'there are three immanent rules' (Thompson 2010:9) describing the characteristics of labour process organisation within a capitalist system. The labour process' early debates began with the publication of a pamphlet, *The Labour Process and Class Strategies*, in 1977 by the Conference of Social Economists. According to Thompson (2010), two articles framed these early debates: The Brighton Labour Process Group (BLPG) which focused on Gorz and Braverman; and the other by Andy Friedman. Thompson states that the BLPG identified the capitalist labour process as defined by three characteristics: '(i) the division of intellectual and manual labour; (ii) hierarchy or hierarchical control; and (iii) the fragmentation/deskilling of labour' (Thompson 2010:9). Like Thompson, who argued that these immanent laws are 'empirically inaccurate and conceptually-confused', I argue that the labour process is defined by various contradictions, as is the case in the minibus taxi industry. The labour process 'is fuelled by the agency of labourers within it' (Moore 2017:36). The problem with the BLPG is 'that it stuck too closely to Marx's distinctions between formal and real subordination' (Thompson 2010:9).

While noting the contributions of Edwards, Braverman, Spencer, Warhurst and Thompson to the labour process debate, my approach to the minibus taxi industry transcends these existing norms by offering the notion of labour marked by the conflicting formalisation and informalisation processes in the industry. The minibus taxi industry's labour process appears to be disputed terrain (Imaniranzi 2015). Moreover, the labour process within the industry refers to the extent to which the owners of taxi fleet have a double function in some taxi associations: manager/capitalist's role (that of structuring the industry's nature of work), including the taxi marshals and taxi drivers' roles. Nonetheless, some taxi owners tend to organise the labour

process in a rather different way, employing workers to work as taxi drivers, taxi marshals, administrators, et cetera (SATAWU 2012). Khosa (1994) writes that taxi owners use different strategies to control taxi drivers, for example, through the recruitment of labour form rural areas, setting daily targets for taxi drivers. Taxi owners maintain maximum control of the labour process within the industry. The sector's quota system, for instance, causes taxi drivers to work irregular hours. As such, the amount of hours the driver is supposed to operate is organised by the taxi owners. As will be shown further below, drivers' working conditions tend not to comply with the BCEA provisions. However, Clarke argues that 'the BCEA was instrumental in establishing a system of regulated precariousness' (2006:238).

The structure of the labour process in the minibus taxi sector focuses around how the job is done and who has control. This (like every other workplace) focuses on issues such as hours of work, annual leave, being issued with payslips etc. (Mahlangu 2002; SATAWU 2012). These form an integral part of the taxi industry's labour process. Here, the cycle of labour is structured to maximise profit; this is demonstrated by the amount of hours that taxi drivers work. Taxi owners have other taxi driver expectations; such as working time slots, and performing tasks.

Within the labour process, the desires of capitalists / capital and workers / wage labour are conflicting. While the industry is a type of production that exists on the fringes of the capitalist mode of production, it is incorporated and subordinated to it. In the labour process, the contact between employer and employee is primarily aimed at controlling the labour process / employment relationship. Central to the employment, or rather labour relationship, are three parties: that is, employers, employees and the state, hence it is called a tripartite relationship (Khosa 1994). According to Mahlangu, the relationship between an employer and employee is two-fold, characterised by a primary relationship and a secondary relationship. The primary relationship is the one between the employer and employee, informed by mutual and conflicting interests. On the other hand, the relationship that the state has with those in the primary relationship is characteristic of a secondary relationship. For example, the role the state plays in the primary relationship is achieved by having labour laws (LRA and BCEA) that aim to regulate the primary relationship. But the state determines the enabling environment for these relationships. So, they do not happen in isolation from each other. The state plays the role of enabling an environment for the minibus taxi industry to operate in. Therefore, while Mahlangu (2002) argues that the relationship between an employer and employee is two-fold, it is not as simple as that – the relationships are intertwined. The taxi industry, for example, operates

according to state regulations. The state not only plays a role in the secondary relationship, but also within the primary relationship. This is not a matter of primary or secondary relationships, but that of a continuum relationship.

The primary partnership in the industry has been between the operator / owner and the individual driver, since the minibus taxi industry originated. Yet for this partnership to happen, the state offers legislation for the minibus taxi industry's operations first. The industry works in a continuum relationship with the state and not a linear relationship, as implied by Mahlangu. However, Mahlangu (2002:15) is correct in that, 'until recently the State had no interest in the minibus taxi industry'. In this sense, the limited amount of state intervention has not helped to foster an employment relationship, as the government has concentrated on permits allocation, including taxi ranks' space, while neglecting the labour process.

3.2.1 Minibus Taxi Industry's Working Conditions

The distinguishing characteristics of an unfair labour process within the industry are seen where the quota system results in drivers overworking, thereby jeopardising their lives, passengers' lives including that of fellow road users. Because taxi drivers want to earn more, they work extremely hard and have less time with family and friends (Mahlangu 2002). For example, a taxi owner would hire a driver in the morning and demand that he makes a specific amount by the evening. If he failed to reach that target, he would then be fired the same evening (as discussed in the finding chapters). In other words, a driver's failure to meet a quota is most likely to result in dismissal (Mahlangu 2002:32). In comparison, there are situations where payment varies, where certain owners do not pay salaries but instead daily demand a definite percentage of daily receipts or weekly sum, with the driver allowed to retain the remainder (Gibbs 2014). Other taxi owners set targets for a week and demand that taxi drivers meet those planned targets.

The difference in power, between the taxi owners (owners of the means of production) and the taxi drivers (owners of labour power), leads to exploitation of the latter, in the sense that the former is mainly concerned with the accumulation of capital at the cost of the latter (taxi driver). The main goal of taxi owners is to maximise profit, as one would expect in a capitalist society. As part of profit maximisation, the taxi drivers' wage is put on the line; hence, I argue that the taxi industry is underpinned by an exploitative labour process (as discussed in the finding chapters). This results in tension between taxi owners and taxi drivers, because the main goal of the taxi driver

is to maximise wages so that they can, for example, buy their own taxis in order to become their own boss, and have enough income to achieve certain goals. However, while taxi drivers may have such goals, they continue to be placed in positions of precarity. The end result is that they do not earn decent wages. Therefore, it remains to be proven whether the maximisation of wages is possible in the context where workers are poorly paid. Precarious conditions of work limit workers' possibility of earning or maximising wages. Antrobus and Kerr argue that 'many taxi owners earn large profits by forming powerful associations and maintaining tight control over entry' (2019:2). In this context, taxi drivers and taxi marshals are placed in positions of precarity.

As is the case in all capital/labour relationships, the relationship between employer and employee is antagonistic. Likewise, amid the antagonism between taxi drivers and operators/owners, they are also similar in characteristics. According to Mahlangu (2002:48), taxi owners and taxi drivers need each other for their mutual survival. Therefore, as central to all capital/labour relationships, taxi owners (employers) and taxi drivers (employees) gain from their relationship in terms of revenue as well as salaries. In addition to this, taxi drivers and taxi marshals are exposed to poor/precarious conditions of work which are not in line with the BCEA No. 75 of 1997 (Mmadi 2012).

The case of poor working conditions for taxi drivers is demonstrated in the research conducted by Mahlangu (2002), which gives an account of the employment conditions of Erasmus-Akasia Taxi Association (EATA) taxi drivers in Pretoria. The conditions encountered in this association fall far short of what they are supposed to be, according to the BCEA No. 75 of 1997. The protection that workers within the minibus taxi industry enjoy under labour law is very weak, and continues to be worn away even when workers are organised (SATAWU 2012), thus rendering them as the precariat. Taxi drivers are exempted from UIF and leave compensation (employment benefits), as employers tend to violate labour regulations (SATAWU 2012). Often, drivers are subjected to the persistent fear of losing their jobs, as there are no contracts for work. It means they lack the security of employment / work.

The fact that taxi drivers are not registered for UIF makes it difficult for them to be assisted during difficult times, such as the 2020 pandemic of COVID-19. The Minister of Labour and Employment confirmed that it would be difficult to assist informal workers (during the lockdown) because they

are not registered with the UIF or the Compensation Fund.[11] Governments across the world have introduced measures to lessen the effect of the virus on the working class, leaving informal sector workers out of their immediate plans. Not surprisingly, the informal sector is even left out of the Department of Employment and Labour's guidelines to deal with Covid-19 in the workplace. It is as if the government is saying that informal workers (taxi drivers and taxi marshals included) are on their own. Where there is ongoing community transmission (medium exposure risk), as is the case in minibus taxi industry operations, workers may have contact with the general public. It is surprising then that the department does not recognise the industry as an example of high transmission risk, due to the fact that it transports most South Africans (including so-called essential workers). The role of the industry in ferrying vast numbers of people cannot be underestimated.

It is also critical to note that the minibus taxi industry is, however, different from other industries in the public transport value-chain, in terms of working hours. For example, the nature of the industry determines the number of hours worked by taxi drivers. It is a fact that the taxi industry is dependent on daily commuters (in terms of generating revenue through taxi fares). Therefore, this industry is considered profitable when it is full of commuters. In this context, it is worth noting that in most cases after 6pm, there are few commuters, and therefore, most taxis stop picking up commuters. The long working hours in the industry are also tied to particular payment systems. This often means that the quota system determines drivers' wages towards a daily target, such that if the target is met, drivers keep the remainder. The system of percentages put drivers' wages as their daily takings' portion (mostly between 20% and 30%). Today, taxi drivers are remunerated on an *"earn as you work basis"*. Through this, drivers are forced to be on duty daily. Taxi drivers, as well as taxi marshals, are required to work more than eight days consecutively.

3.2.2 Commission Work

The nature of work within the taxi industry remains complicated and very difficult to understand. The long hours are linked to a commission basis of payment. Through commission work, taxi owners/operators set targets on a weekly basis for taxi drivers who are paid on commission (Fourie 2003). For example, commission payment within the industry varies between 15% and 25%. The earnings/wages of the taxi drivers are dependent on the number of trips they make (this

[11] Smit, S. 2020. Under lockdown SA's working poor is just poor, https://mg.co.za/article/2020-03-26-under-lockdown-sas-working-poor-is-just-poor/

is central to the nature of precariousness in the industry). Furthermore, the precariousness of workers is reflected in the context where wages set are not in compliance with the Sectoral Determination. Commission work in the industry plays a central role in working conditions, placing taxi drivers in a dilemma in that they have to make as many trips as possible, obtaining traffic fines for speeding while chasing passengers. Taxi drivers continue pushing themselves to work maximum hours, depending on the availability of passengers. In addition to this, drivers compete on a daily basis over passengers in an attempt to make profits. Moreover, drivers are expected to generate as much revenue as possible per day. There are variations in rates of commission between taxi owners, meaning that the industry has no standard pay (Mmadi 2012).

Employment relationships in the production process and the commission-based/percentage-based work reveal the basis for conflict within the industry. Conflict arises in light of the fact that workers as well as employers' interests clash (Nkambule and Govender 2014), particularly around the issue of commission-based work. The contradictory nature of labour control is central to the employment relationship that is commission-based (which forces drivers to work hard to generate revenue through taxi fares). In this context, taxi drivers lack various forms of labour security.

3.2.3 Minimum Wage within the Minibus Taxi Industry

As noted above, Sectoral Determination 11: Taxi Sector is meant to govern the employment of taxi drivers, administrative staff, rank marshals, cleaning staff, owner drivers, and employers. This determination sets minimum wages, working hours, the number of leave days, cleaning staff and those who collect fares (Sechaba 2017). The Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act (BCEA) 2018 notes that the Sectoral Determinations and Employment Conditions Commission are removed from the BCEA, because the national minimum wage, the National Minimum Wage and transitional provisions (Department of Labour 2018) replace them. The concept of minimum wage, however, remains a contested terrain, with different views on what constitutes a decent and minimum wage. Somehow, operations within the minibus taxi industry deviate from the legislated minimum wage. However, given the complicated nature of the industry, the DoL still finds it hard to ensure that the minimum wage is enforced. It is important that the DoL ensures that the industry complies with labour regulations. A minimum wage for the taxi sector must be enforced through engagement with taxi owners. However, the unintended consequence of

regulations might be the growth of oligopolies, whereby the industry continues to avoid labour regulations.

The minimum wage legislation in South Africa was enacted with the intention of regulating vulnerable sectors, as defined by the state, including the industry (Sechaba 2017:2). The following table (Table 3.1) details minibus taxi industry employees' minimum wage per month as from 2 November 2017.

Table 3.1: Taxi employees' minimum wage per month with effect from 2 November 2017

	Job Type	Minimum wage per month
Minibus taxi industry	Drivers	R3,413.26
	Admin Worker	R3,218.57
	Rank Marshalls	R2,728.45

Source: Sabinet; Minimum Wages in Taxi Sector Adjusted 2017[12]

This means that the Department of Labour (now the Department of Employment and Labour) adjusted the minimum wage for the taxi sector in November 2017. The increases, specifically for taxi drivers, meant that their minimum wage increased from:

- **Monthly**: R3,030.67 to R3,413.26;
- **Weekly**: R697.13 to R787.73;
- **Hourly**: R14.51 to R16.41.

There is also a new boarding allowance, in which an employer will pay a sum of R349.70 to an employee, an improvement from R329.29 as of 1 August 2017.

Minimum wages are internationally considered as a way of addressing poverty associated with low wages. For example, the Minister of Labour is required by the BCEA to set minimum wages, among other things, with the advice of the Employment Conditions Commission (Sechaba 2017).

[12] https://legal.sabinet.co.za/articles/minimum-wages-in-taxi-sector-adjusted/

Sections 32 and 33 of the BCEA apply to the payment of the national minimum wage to workers (Department of Labour 2017:239).

3.3 Gap in the Literature: Minibus Taxi Industry's Precarious Conditions of Work

While extensive research has been conducted on South Africa's minibus taxi industry (Baloyi 2012; Fourie 2008; Imaniranzi 2015; Gibbs 2014; and Neumann et al. 2015), there is a noticeable gap in the empirical evidence on the existence of precariousness and the TRP impact thereon and broader working conditions, such as driving taxis in good condition. Most of the literature on the minibus taxi industry concentrates on describing the TRP and the factors affecting its implementation (Baloyi 2012; Browning 2006; Chiloane-Tsoka 2006; Schalekamp et al. 2010; Hua and Ray 2017; Moyake 2006; Ntuli 2015; Woolf 2013; and Wosiyana 2013), without studying the precariousness of work within the industry and the impact of the TRP on this. While Baloyi (2012) reveals the TRP's impact on the industry, the author does not account for the precariousness of work in the industry. Therefore, most of the literature does not account for the existence of precarious conditions of work within the industry. Moyake (2006) only considers the formulation of the TRP policy and does not account for working conditions. In the same way, Woolf (2013) describes the TRP without studying its impact on the industry.

As briefly discussed in the preceding paragraph, the dominant literature in South Africa focuses on describing the TRP and its implementation, and the minibus taxi sector's precariousness being overlooked. This thesis intends to fill this gap. In describing working conditions in the industry as informed by 'exploitative labour practices', Mmadi (2012) states that the TRP aims to regulate working conditions within the industry but does not study how this recapitalisation programme impacts on what the author calls 'exploitative labour practices'. If the TRP aimed to regulate working conditions within the industry, which is correct, as the author states – then it was important to investigate the impact of this recapitalisation programme on what I call precarious conditions of work.

The study of the TRP 's impact on minibus taxi industry's precarious working conditions speaks directly to social reproduction. Social reproduction takes as its principal object of study the relationship between wage labour and capital and considers the structures, systems and processes associated with the cultural, social, political and ideological reproduction of this relationship (Von Holdt and Webster 2005). Such reproduction is defined by four types of capital:

social capital, cultural capital, human capital and economic capital.[13] Social reproduction is the capacity of workers to replicate themselves socially by the means of survival required to sustain and reproduce their labour power (Jonna and Foster 2016). As discussed in Chapter 9 below, the poor quality of many minibus taxis, therefore, has a detrimental effect on the reproduction of labour power for taxi drivers. Although their labour power continues to be executed by driving less new and many older taxis, it puts commuters in precarious conditions. The adoption and application of the TRP has largely failed to answer the issue of social reproduction. In other words, it has not addressed whether the TRP has improved working conditions of taxi drivers and other employees in the industry or deepened precariousness. Even though the TRP has achieved some success in certain parts of the transformation of the industry, it is not clear what impact it has had on working conditions. The question of the impact of TRP on working conditions not only speaks to precarious labour conditions, but also broader working conditions, such as driving taxis in a decent state.

3.4 Conclusion

Work in the minibus taxi sector is characterised by acts of minimising costs through poor conditions of work for drivers as well as marshals. The existing conditions of employment within the taxi industry favour employers at the expense of the employees. In terms of operating hours, the minibus taxi industry varies from other industries. The essence of the industry, for example, dictates the amount of hours that taxi drivers work. It is a fact that the taxi industry depends on commuters and that taxis operate as long as there are commuters to be delivered. The research is commission-based within the industry. The government is making means through the TRP and other measures to change the sector in order to function safely. In reviewing the literature, I noticed that, while research has been conducted on the TRP's impact on the minibus taxi industry, very little is known about the impact of this programme on precarious working conditions. This thesis seeks to fill this noticeable gap. Chapter 4 below discusses the role of the state in restructuring the industry.

[13] Economic capital can be defined as a person's income and wealth. Huma capital is the person's education and training. Cultural capital is the shared outlook, knowledge between generations. Social capital is the social networks to which people belong.

CHAPTER 4:

State's Role in Minibus Taxi Industry Restructuring: A Developmental State Dream Deferred in South Africa?

4.1 Introduction

The state plays a critical role in the capital-labour relationship by 'securing the wage relation and capital's rights to manage the labour process' (Jessop 2002:44). According to Jessop (2002), the state intervenes in capital accumulation in various ways, which includes, in abstract terms, where state support for the valorisation of capital and social reproduction is provided through law, force, regulation, money, goods and services. The Government implemented the TRP in 1999 in an attempts to intervene in the minibus taxi industry, with the goal of transforming the minibus taxi industry. The TRP was introduced through the 2000 National Land Transport Transition Act, seeking to restructure and improve the national taxi industry. However, as of December 2017, the TRP was reported to be still under review. The Department of Roads and Transport (DRT) conducted the review with the purpose of evaluating and improving the TRP's effectiveness, sustainability and affordability. The minibus taxi sector's transformation remains at the core of growth of South African transport. One of the main reasons for the formulation of the TRP was to progressively reduce road accidents and violence, including conflicts over routes that characterise the taxi industry. In order to improve road safety, the TRP promotes vehicle safety through law enforcement. This thesis investigates this in order to establish if working conditions in the industry have been improved since the TRP was introduced. The overall goal of the TRP is to improve conditions in the industry at large (Baloyi 2012). It is, however, not clear how the TRP intends to achieve this goal with regards to improving working conditions in the industry. One of the primary objectives of the TRP for example was aimed at scrapping old taxi vehicles and replacing them with newer, safer ones.

While this chapter discusses the state's role in transforming the industry, it notes that this role is contested. This is underlined by the fact that the ANC speaks of a "developmental state" while at the same time failing to realise the visions for such a state. This thesis uses the term developmental state to understand state intervention, including regulation and planning. For South Africa to become a true developmental state, government needs to successfully intervene in the minibus taxi industry, amongst other areas. The state plays a role in shaping the structure and production of the economy. The term "developmental state" is 'characterised by a viable intervention, extensive regulation and planning by the state' (De Wee 2016:488). The model has

often been cited with regards to certain South-East Asian countries. According to Evans and Heller (2018) when looking at Asia, the developmental state has been effective both in industrial transformation and capability expansion. For example, the North-east Asian developmental state 'enjoyed success in promoting societal well-being for over three decades' (Evans and Heller 2018:2). The North-east Asian developmental state example demonstrates the importance of focus on the capacity of public bureaucracies. This chapter discusses the transformation of the minibus taxi industry, with a case study of the TRP (the capacity of the state to transform the industry).

4.2 Formalisation/Transformation of the Minibus Taxi Sector

Jessop states that 'the form of the state is a reflection of the economic base of society and that its interventions are a reflection of the spheres of the economy and/or of the balance of economic class forces' (1982:9). According to Jessop (2008), the state is not an entity but a social relation with different strategic effects. This means that the state is determined by the nature of social relations which it is situated in. Therefore, the introduction of the TRP to transform the minibus taxi industry demonstrated that the state is a social relation. The relation between the state and the industry is 'strategic-relational', to use Jessop's (2008) concept, in such a way that it defines the relations between the state and the industry. Nicos Poulantzas laid the foundation for this strategic-relational approach by explaining the nature of social relations (Jessop 2008). The strategic-relational approach 'analyses social phenomena in terms of social relations through a dialectical analysis of structure and agency in order to examine how institutions privilege some actors and strategies over others, and how strategies structure institutions' (Grumiller 2019:4). Therefore, through the strategic-relational approach, the state privileges formalised public transport (buses and trains) and strategies over the informal and unregulated minibus taxi industry. A key element of strategic selectivity within the South African public transport sector is how government promotes formalised public transport as embodying state selectiveness.

The state privileges formalised public transport strategies over others, because 'institutions are characterised by a pattern of strategic selectivity that reflects and modifies the balance of social forces and, in other word, delineates which interests, strategies, and policies can be enforced in a given context' (Grumiller 2019:8). In this regard, it appears that government has essentially chosen to attempt to replace the informal taxi industry with various formal modes of transport. The strategic-relational approach goes beyond the dichotomy of structure and agency through

studying structures in relation to action and action in relation to structure. Grumiller writes that 'structures are treated analytically as strategic in their form, and actions as structured and structuring' (2019:8). It follows from this that the actions or operations of the minibus taxi industry are structured and structuring. In chapter 7 below, I explain that there is a need for state strategic intervention in the industry in order to bring about change. This thesis exposes elements of strategic selectivity of the state as reflected through the subsidies that are only provided for formalised public transport.

Following the transition from apartheid to democracy, the ANC government 'adopted the principles of a developmental state with the belief that state economic intervention could enhance and strengthen government or state capacity to deal with the challenges of poverty, unemployment and gross inequalities' (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011:58). Government adopted state economic intervention with a belief that this would strengthen the state's capacity to deal with the multitude of issues inherited from apartheid – for example, racial segregation that the minibus taxi sector encountered (Burger 2014). Spatial and racial segregation during apartheid resulted in a removal of black people from the centre of many cities. During this period, transport was used to control access to urban areas. The government of the time invested in road infrastructure for private vehicles, neglecting public transport. Apartheid resulted in a legacy of social and spatial segregation, with people separated from their places of work and social services. Black people were forced to live in the townships and were, therefore, separated from their places of work. Often, the only mode of transport they had were minibus taxis. It is important to note that public transportation is a critical part of any country's development. Therefore, the development of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa depends on the state's capacity to implement a developmentalist agenda. According to Freund, 'a developmental state will involve a deeply embedded partnership between the state and at least parts of capital in pursuit of common projects leading to economic growth' (2019:214). The minibus taxi industry is important because it enables many economic and societal activities. As such, partnership between the state and the minibus taxi industry will ensure that it not only contributes to economic growth, but also has good working conditions and decent wages for taxi drivers and taxi marshals.

Mathebula states that a developmental state is one 'that totally endeavour to deploy its administrative and political resources to the task of economic development' (2016:47). According to Edigheji (2010:82), 'a developmental state is a phenomenon that existed in a particular context of East Asia between the 1950s and 1980s to explain the rapid economic growth of the countries

in East Asia'. 'In Korea, the developmental state emerged in earnest from the early 1960s, and combined with authoritarian politics in the 1970s, labelling the 1970s Korea as typical of the authoritarian developmental state' (Soon-Yang 2014:69). While South Korea's developmental state succeeded in achieving its main goals through economic growth and industrialisation, its social policies were underdeveloped. Since the end of the Second World War, the East Asian countries experienced economic development due to a unique "Asian model", which maintained international market forces and economic growth through state intervention. The socio-economic context from Asia drew the world to the discussions of a developmental state as an opportunity to address developmental challenges in developing countries (Burger 2014). However, Mathebula argues that 'in the Asian developmental states, the state has a dictatorship role in forcing the market to drive the developmental agenda through predetermined goals and pace while the South African only thrives through regulatory role to the market' (2016:50). The context of the developmental state in this thesis is to understand the role of the state in ensuring the development of the minibus taxi industry.

The term developmental state was first conceptualised by Chalmers Johnson in the 1980s, where he defined a developmental state as a state with a focus on economic development and taking the necessary policy measures to achieve such development. Freund argues that 'South Africa in the twentieth century can actually be understood as a nascent developmental state, with economic development acting as a key motivating factor' (2019:i). The nascent developmental state can be observed in the case of failed state intervention within the minibus taxi industry. The state has failed to regulate the industry due to a lack of engagement with different actors in the sector. It was only through the 2020 National Taxi Lekgotla (during the October Transport Month) that government successfully engaged with the taxi industry, albeit without the participation of the National Taxi Alliance. I discuss this briefly in the conclusion of chapter 10.

According to Mkandawire, 'during much of the 1980s and 1990s, a literature emerged suggesting that "developmental states" were impossible in Africa' (2001:289). Mkandawire (2001) states that the literature on developmental states has two components. The first one is the *ideological* component, and the second *structural*. In terms of the first component, the developmental state is defined in terms of ideology (Mkandawire 2001:290). States with a developmentalist ideology are focused on promoting sustained economic development and economic growth. In terms of the ideological component, the state assumes a character that is developmentalist, with a mission of ensuring economic development associated with high rates of accumulation and

industrialisation. Based on the second component, a structural definition, Mkandawire argues that 'the developmental state emphasises capacity to implement economic policies wisely and effectively' (2001:290). The capacity of the state is defined by different factors, including technical, institutional, administration and political (Freund 2019). However, as discussed in Chapter 9 below, the ANC government does not seem to have the capacity to implement policies to transform the minibus taxi industry, given the TRP's minimal impact on the industry's precarious conditions of work. Writing on the South African developmental state, Marais writes that 'government wheeled out the developmental state project in the early 2000s, as criticism of its structural adjustment policies grew shrill' (2011:338). While the South African government has adopted measures such as the transformation of the minibus taxi industry in order to achieve the economic development of this industry, it has failed to achieve this due to a lack of intervention.

The definition of the developmental state 'is always deductively derived from the economic results' (Mkandawire 2001:290). Therefore, a state is developmental if the economy is developing – in other words, if it is growing. Marais (2011) argues that a developmental state has "autonomy" to promote social development through economic growth. The ANC tends to associate the developmental state 'with the achievements of the newly industrialised countries of Asia' (Marais 2011:339). Evans (1995) argues that the state is involved in economic transformation and because of this, it is implicated in the process of capital accumulation. As states become increasingly involved in economic transformation, they look at the international system not only as a system of sovereign political entities but also as a division of labour. According to Evans, 'in the contemporary world, withdrawal and involvement are not the alternatives. State involvement is a given' (1995:8).

While Edigheji (2010) finds that there is enough political will for a developmental state, I think the state seems to downplay contexts where this is not the case, such as the lack of political will to fix the minibus taxi industry. Institutions will play an important role in determining the developmental state's capacity to implement the TRP in the context of the industry. Since the developmental state involves an embedded relationship between the state and parts of capital, one would expect the state to give direction to the minibus taxi industry in significant ways. Starting in the 1960s, in South Africa, 'the state re-oriented itself towards entrenching the apartheid racial divisions into a national partition and became obsessed with security issues' (Freund 2019:214). As a result, economic and developmental goals were not important unless attached to racial divisions and security issues. The developmental state in South Africa enjoyed much success in

the mining/financial sector focused on gold. This dependence of the economy on the mining sector was very strong, by 1940 ‘with Anglo-American as the locally based premier firm’ (Freund 2019:214). The South African economy and its development have been relatively weak globally in terms of the manufacturing sector. Unlike Asia, South Africa faced isolation from other parts of the world, especially the major trading economies (Mathebula 2016). ‘From 1975 South Africa increasingly depended not on the manufacturing sector but rather on the growing sale of other minerals such as manganese, platinum, iron ore and coal’ (Freund 2019:215). Investment in the minibus taxi industry was largely neglected, irrespective of its role in economic growth. More focus was placed on developing the extensive rail network. Also, government has over the years until recently, appeared to have chosen to attempt replacing the minibus taxi industry with formal public transport modes.

There is also a lack of political will to develop the South African public transport system. Certainly, without the existence of a competent and capable public bureaucracy, expanding public transport to include the minibus taxi industry will take time to materialise. Therefore, for South Africa to be able to successfully implement a developmental state in the 21st century, it needs new kinds of capabilities (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011). While this is important, it is equally vital that the state shows political will towards the transformation of the minibus taxi industry while taking cognisance that there continues to be some resistance from the industry to participate in this regulation or transformation through the DoL and enforcement of labour regulations. There are cases of a lack of political will to address problems which the industry faces, indicating a vision of a sustainable state deferred in the industry’s sense. As Jonas writes, the 'developmental state remains elusive' (2019:35). In the context of South Africa, it has been compounded by issues of corruption that have plagued the ANC government (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011).

Tshishonga and de Vries (2011:62) argue that ‘taking the developmental state model seriously and taking it to its utmost, would imply also that the South African state focuses on protecting and stimulating the growth of its main domestic industry’. This does not mean facilitating the maximisation of profit within the minibus taxi industry, for example, but maximising its market share within the public transport value-chain. While there are widespread discussions of a developmental state within the ANC (Burger 2014), South Africa is still ‘failing to change the socio-economic structures that perpetuate racial injustice against black people’ (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011:58) within the minibus taxi industry. Even after twenty-six years of democracy, the country is still haunted by an informal and unregulated minibus taxi industry. Within the concept

of a developmental state, government has an important role to play in enabling the public transport sector to collectively move people daily across the country. What is important here, van Ryneveld (2018b:4) notes, is the 'provision of infrastructure, regulation, creation of a sound basis for competition in service provision, contracting of services, subsidies'. For South Africa to become a truly developmental state, 'government needs to strengthen its ability to manage and coordinate diverse interests central to the achievement of South Africa's developmental goals' (De Wee 2016:499). In this respect, government should strengthen its ability to coordinate the industry's different interests. The state also needs to regulate working conditions in the industry that remains characterised by the precarious conditions of work.

4.2.1 Minibus Taxi Industry's Cooperatives

As part of an agenda to transform the industry through state intervention (key principle of a developmental state), the Gauteng provincial government encouraged taxi operators/owners to corporatise their minibus taxis into larger operating companies, thereby encouraging the industry to compete more efficiently. Through the government's corporatisation initiative, the state aimed to transform the minibus taxi industry and place it on a more sustainable path in contributing to economic growth (Kgwedi and Krygsman 2017). In this regard, corporatisation of the minibus taxi industry can be viewed as part of a formalisation process, whereby informal and unregulated minibus taxis are turned into formal and corporatised entities and where they comply with labour regulations, such as working hours and a minimum wage. In this context, the aim of the government is for the minibus taxi industry to form corporates. This is exemplified by the former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Ismail Vadi, who raised the importance of corporatisation within the minibus taxi industry. Vadi used the example of Kenya, where taxi operators have organised themselves into corporates and not associations, something South Africa should follow (Ang'asa 2017). However, this is unlikely to work in South Africa as the amount of illegal minibus taxis increases.

While corporatisation refers to the formation of corporates owned by stakeholders, this might not work in the case of the minibus taxi industry. What is most likely to work are cooperatives. I explain this point further in Chapter 7 on the so-called collaborative minibus taxi industry. According to Ang'asa (2017:7), in Kenya, 'the taxi industry has been an alternative to public transportation over many years with taxi companies and private taxis operating countrywide'. Taxi companies in

Kenya are preferred by corporates and businessmen and women travelling to the airport. Such companies fall under a Corporate Taxi Association with 30 members operating at the corporate level. However, there are huge differences between taxi companies in Kenya and the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. The most obvious difference is that minibus taxis in South Africa are mostly used by the black working class and not corporates. The case of corporates in Kenya is similar to meter taxis or Ubers, which are mostly used by corporates and business people. In this regard, the former MEC misunderstood the context of the minibus taxi industry when he suggested that the industry forms corporates as is the case in Kenya. What South Africa's minibus taxi industry requires is the formation of cooperatives.

Paul Browning, a Public Transport Analyst, in his submission to the Competition Commission's Market Inquiry on Public Passenger Transport, stated that 'various levels of government have expressed the view that taxi associations should form companies so that negotiations would take place with a corporate body with the power to "deliver" on agreements' (Browning 2018:9). The corporatisation suggestion was first made in the 1996 White Paper on National Land Transport Policy where it was mentioned that minibus taxis could form legally registered cooperatives. This suggestion continued more than 20 years later in the Revised White Paper on National Land Transport Policy, approved for public comment by the Cabinet on 1 March 2018. Here, it was mentioned that taxi operators owning one or two taxis would be consolidated into companies operating fleets of taxis on behalf of shareholders (Browning 2018). It is mentioned in the Revised White Paper that government would provide assistance to the minibus taxi industry to restructure into companies (van Ryneveld 2018b). The National Land Transport Policy 'reveals much about the nature of the state, especially its institutional characteristics; that is, institutional arrangements and the nature of the relationship that the state has with non-state actors' (Edigheji 2010:5), such as the minibus taxi industry.

The Annual Report of the GDoRT for the 2015/16 financial year made note of the implementation of a Corporatisation Training Programme in order to transform the industry into a professional and business-oriented business (Gauteng Provincial Government 2016:28). Corporatisation is meant to ensure that the taxi associations operate legally by having legal business entities. While the state has introduced the TRP and corporatisation as strategies to transform the industry, it is important to establish the impact of the TRP in particular within the industry. This is briefly introduced in the following section.

4.3 TRP's Impact on the Minibus Taxi Sector

TRP's impact within the taxi sector is considered in terms of different participants. These participants include taxi operators, taxi drivers, taxi marshals, street vendors and government. The TRP is considered to have had an 'adverse impact on the existing taxi business and the indirect businesses benefiting from the current taxi industry' (Baloyi 2012:38). This 'adverse impact' is seen in the form of loss of employment, safety problems and fare costs (Baloyi 2012). It is argued that the TRP will, particularly, lead to fare hikes for passengers in the absence of subsidies. Subsidies more broadly assist workers to reach their places of work. According to the Competition Commission (2020), governments across the world make use of public transport subsidies in order to promote mobility. Currently, government does not have a subsidy policy which provides justification for buses and trains being subsidised while the minibus taxi industry is not. Through the public transport subsidies, government ensures that all South Africans, including the poor and unemployed, have access to affordable public transport. South Africa has different types of subsidies allocated to different spheres of government and different modes of transport (for example, rail and bus services). The way in which subsidies are allocated to the different spheres of government exacerbates the challenge of public transport integration. Government should consider operating public transport under a single entity or transport authority. The minibus taxi industry should, in turn, be integrated into the public transport plans. Ideally, operational subsidies should be allocated to a single entity to promote integrated public transport planning. Subsidies are currently allocated to rail and bus modes to drive down the costs to commuters. These operational subsidies are provided to rail and bus public transport services to ensure that workers are able to access affordable public transport and participate in economic activities.

While government is making investments towards subsidies, commuters still prefer the unsubsidised minibus taxis due to its availability. Minibus taxi operators have been able to enter and expand the market (for example, by reaching places that the buses and rail cannot). Minibus taxis continue to provide effective and efficient public transport services, especially over shorter routes. The industry is the only mode of public transport that does not benefit from any form of operational subsidies and only receives 1% of the capital subsidy (taxi recapitalisation).

Government should dedicate efforts to enhancing minibus taxis' affordability for low-income commuters through operational subsidies. This would, in turn, increase the accessibility of low-income commuters (that is, their potential to reach many activities). The impact of the TRP on taxi queue marshals is also important to consider as they are responsible for directing passengers to the taxis, checking tyres and taking passenger complaints. This is critical in the context where the TRP was meant to address inequality challenges and empower black people in the minibus taxi industry.

In relation to industry representation, SANTACO was established in 1998 as an industry response to tackling taxi violence (Ingle 2009). Even though SANTACO claimed to represent members within the minibus taxi industry, shortly after it was formed, the NTA was established and also claimed to represent the taxi industry. Consequently, disagreements over representation between the two bodies continued to create issues for the recapitalisation process. The existence and confusion of these two associations claiming that they both represent the industry complicates government efforts to engage with the industry. It is hoped that the launch of the Ntirhisano Taxi Outreach Programme will facilitate better engagement between the government and minibus taxi industry. Just like the introduction of the TRP and corporatisation of the industry, the GDRoT introduced the Ntirhisano Taxi Outreach Programme.

A rising trend globally has been the growth of informal employment, which has in turn challenged the nature and participation of trade unions. In the face of this growth of informal employment, trade union membership has declined. In this context, unions are facing increasing pressures to organise the unorganised (Bonner and Spooner 2011). The dramatic increase of the informal sector has eroded workers' labour rights, denied them access to trade unions, reduced wages, and seen the withdrawal of benefits. The rise of informal work arrangements has given rise to a situation where trade unions are facing the challenge to "organise the unorganised" casual, part-time, temporary workers (Chattaraj 2016).

Within the minibus taxi industry, the associations of employers/taxi operators are made up of SANTACO, representing employers across the country, and the Taxi Management's Top Six, with Gauteng's members (Imaniranzi 2015). SATAWU organises workers in the transport sector, including security and cleaning companies. The union represents workers from railways, aviation, harbours, parastatals, passenger transport (buses and taxis), freight (trucking), cleaning and security. SATAWU, in particular, emphasises the difficulty of organising workers whose working

conditions are unstructured. Trade union representation in the taxi industry exists in the context where the number of taxi operators/owners and employees is increasing. However, it is not clear how many members SATAWU represents. Therefore, there is a need to conduct research in order to establish the number of members the union represents.

Through all the engagements between government and the minibus taxi industry, taxi owners were identified as the TRP's target group by the government. However, in so doing, government never consulted the industry on the implementation of the programme, thereby making the process a flawed one (Fourie 2003). This in itself demonstrates short-sightedness on the part of government in the formulation of the recapitalisation policy. It follows from this that the government should consult the industry once the so-called collaborative taxi industry (an element of the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme – RTRP) is implemented. As such, I argue that other relevant key role players in the South African minibus taxi industry – taxi drivers, vehicle washers, fare collectors, rank marshals – should also be included in the target group of the RTRP, since the policy has the possibility to influence the socio-economic circumstances of all such role players, not only the official target group (taxi owners). The policy of recapitalisation consequently fails to pay particular focus on the minibus taxi industry's improvement of conditions of work.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the role of the state in restructuring the minibus taxi industry. This is discussed with reference to the developmental state agenda. Although the ANC government adopted the principles of a developmental state in the belief that state economic intervention will improve and strengthen the ability of government or state to resolve the challenges of poverty, unemployment and gross inequalities, it also failed to intervene effectively in the minibus taxi industry. There are instances of a lack of political will to resolve the industry's problems, meaning that in the context of the minibus taxi industry, the case of a developmental state dream is postponed. While the government (since 1999) changed its focus from an ambitious recapitalisation plan to transforming /restructuring the taxi industry, more still needs to be done to transform the industry. The TRP was concerned primarily with taxi industry regulatory management, with a view to improving road safety and reducing taxi violence within the informal taxi sector. With the TRP introduced in 1999, implemented in 2001 and having a marginal impact in the industry, it appears that the developmental state is a dream deferred. The industry continues

to be characterised by precarious working conditions. Chapter 5 below discusses the theoretical framework of precarity which is used to understand these precarious working conditions.

CHAPTER 5:

Towards a Theoretical Framework for the Study of Precarious Conditions of Work within the Minibus Taxi Industry

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I discussed the state's role in the transformation of South Africa's minibus taxi sector, emanating from the literature review, as well as noting the gap in the literature in chapter 3. This thesis uses the framework of precarity in order to explain the various forms of precarious conditions of work. In the context of this thesis, precarity is placed as a sociological investigation for conceptually capturing the context of the minibus taxi industry. Every day, we hear and see stories in newspapers and media that report on taxi drivers and how they behave. This thesis focuses on understanding the meaning that taxi owners, taxi drivers, taxi marshals etc give to their actions and social relations with commuters and other drivers.

This chapter discusses the theoretical/conceptual framework of this thesis. The theory of precarity guides the research conducted in this thesis. Precarity is defined as the loss of labour market security in various forms. According to Suliman and Weber, '"precarity" is deployed to denote a specific condition of insecurity that emerges from the spatial and temporal restructuring of the relationship between production, politics, and life' (2019:528). The understanding of restructuring has been recently associated with neo-liberal globalisation. The concept of a precariat as a precarious proletariat has become prominent in recent years (Munck 2013). According to Standing (2011:10), the precariat is made up of those who lack seven forms of labour security. These people do not have enough income and no protection against arbitrary dismissal. The seven forms of labour security are the following: 'labour market security; employment security; job security; work security; skill reproduction security; income security and representation security' (Wright 2016:4). In addition to this, the precariat does not have defined job descriptions and tend to work long hours. In engaging with precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry, this thesis problematises further the issue of precarity. While filling the noticeable minibus taxi sector's empirical evidence gap, as discussed in chapter 3, the thesis also makes a substantial contribution theoretically to current literature on precarious conditions of work.

Chapter 5 begins by conceptualising the key terms informing the theoretical framework of this thesis. There are four key terms in the theoretical framework and these include the following: the *formal-informal sector/economy* which gives context to the other three terms*; precariat*; *precarious conditions of work* and; *forms of labour security.* In understanding the precariat, the main theorists discussed are Standing, Munck and Barchiesi. This is followed by a discussion of overlapping employment relationships; precariat as a new class; and a discussion of the choice of precariat theory. I conclude this chapter by discussing the improvement of precarious conditions of work, with reference to the minibus taxi industry.

5.2 Key Terms in the Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

5.2.1 Formal-Informal Sector/Economy

Informality is difficult to define as it means different things to different people. For example, there is urban informality in other parts of the Global South. This happens in the context where there is a significant growth in informal sectors/traders in urban areas of the south. Informality occurs across different sectors – it involves economic, social and political domains. The origins of informality were addressed powerfully by the marginalisation thesis, originally put forward over two decades ago by Castells and Portes. This theory considered informal work as an inherent feature of advanced capitalism (Ram et al. 2017:363).

In its' broadest sense, informality refers to that segment of economic activity that is either unregulated or not properly regulated by the state. Generally, these are productive activities that are almost consistently unaccounted for in a country's national accounts. While acknowledging that a notion like informality remains crucial in order to enable us to capture non-regulated spheres of economic activity, it is important to treat with caution the formal-informal dichotomy, in light of the dualistic school of thought (which remains dominant) in the literature (Becker 2004). The starting point of dualism is the division of the urban economy into two separate components – the formal and informal sectors. As Keith Hart, to whom the term is originally credited points out, the concept of informality posits such activities negatively vis-à-vis the formal sphere (Hart 2010). The minibus taxi industry for example is rooted within the operations of the informal sector. The sector is characterised by informality, but is structurally related to the formal sector (Banerjee et al. 2008:3).

The analytical separation of the formal from the informal economy can, thus, be challenged, not only on the grounds that they are interlinked economically, as Hart (2010) and others have shown, but because it largely relies on a notion of state regulation. This analytical separation is problematic as it gives rise to a separate analysis of economies, which, in turn, reinforces dualistic understandings of the economy (Theron 2014).

There is extensive evidence globally of a growing informalisation of previously formal jobs (Laha 2008). There is not only a rising trend of firms making use of temporary employment contracts but also the increasing use of labour brokers and employment agencies. The dualism implied by concerns about a "structural" disconnection between the first/formal and second/informal economies allows the government to claim that its economic policies have been effective for the first/formal economy and, because of these achievements; the government is able to tackle poverty and unemployment problems in the second/informal economy (Theron 2010). Across the world, 'breaking out of informality is increasingly seen as the principal development challenge across regions and as being central to realizing decent work as a global development goal, and to a fair globalization' (International Labour Office 2014:10). According to Dannenberg et al, 'large parts of the economies in the Global South are characterised by informal actors' (2016:174). While this is evidently the case, some of the literature points to the fact that state intervention can also lead to a growth in the informal sector. For example, Williams argues that 'employment in the informal economy is a product of high taxes, public sector corruption and state interference in the free market and that reducing taxes, corruption and the regulatory burden via minimal state intervention is the remedy' (2017:145). However, I reveal in this thesis that a lack of state intervention in employment to protect workers in the minibus taxi industry is one of the causes of precariousness defining the industry.

In Gauteng and throughout South Africa, the public transport network continues to optimise benefit and also links formal and informal sectors. While the minibus taxi sector seemingly exists on the margins of formalised modes of transport, it plays an important role in creating a working relationship between the formal and informal sector whilst generating profit daily. For example, it transports people from the so-called informal segment of the economy to the formal sector, to their places of work or study.

5.2.2 Precariat

There are different conceptions of the precariat theory, with some distinguishing between precarity as a strategic, relational, political concept and having a sociological focus. Neilson and Rossiter write that 'to understand precarity as a political concept it is necessary to go beyond economist approaches that see social conditions as determined by the mode of production' (2008: 51). In this context, to understand precarity as a political concept requires seeing Fordism as an exception and precarity as a norm. Fordism was a system of production based on the assembly line, and focused on high industrial productivity. Fordism arose largely under the influence of the Ford Motor Company in the United States (Neilson and Rossiter 2008), and became associated with mass (or large-batch) production, which involved the use of 'dedicated machinery' integrated in a mechanised sequence. Therefore, it is precarity that is the norm in this context and not the Fordist economic organisation. Precarity is a norm of the global employment relationship. Locating Fordism as the exception is not to assume that capitalism is homogenous. According to Betti, 'considering precarious work as the norm of capitalism and job stability – together with Fordism and the standard employment model – as the exception, has several implications both from a theoretical and a political point of view' (2016:16). Firstly, one of the implications is to try and understand the specificity of the Golden Age of the 20th century from a political and socio-economic perspective. Recognising precarity as a norm in the contemporary capitalist world implies rethinking the social rights attached to the working conditions of workers. It is critical to note that 'the normalisation and exceptional model, such as the standard employment model and Fordism, also depended on the subjective and objective conditions of the social actors involved in the process' (Betti 2016:17). This is the exceptionality of standard employment and normality of precarious work.

Before the concept of precarity became prevalent in academic discourse, it 'emerged as a political platform that was adopted by social movements in Europe, most notably those involved in the Euro May Day protests in the early 2000s' (Millar 2017:2). Therefore, the first use of precarity as a political concept was located within the discourse on social movements. Precarity and Fordism have 'internal variations, external impositions and mutual inconsistencies shaped by national, geocultural and historical contexts as well as institutional practices' (Neilson and Rossiter 2008:54). Fordism was also associated with the formal sector and typically secure forms of employment, employment contracts and other benefits. Precarity as an ontological experience and the condition of workers is intimately tied to these variations. As a political concept, precarity is thus considered as an ontological experience and the socio-economic condition of workers. While the political conception of precarity is important, for the purposes of this thesis, I lean

towards conceiving precarity as a sociological and relational category. As Dorre puts it, 'precarity is a relational category, always linked to societal definitions and standards of normality' (2014:73). Sociologically, the concept of precarity refers to unstable and insecure working conditions, employment and life in general. Sociologists use precarity as a broad category in order to bind a range of social phenomena together (Wilson and Ebert 2013). Precarity is a relational concept defined in opposition to a standard, which is standard employment relationships. In other words, it is a non-standard employment relationship – the opposite of standard.

According to Breman, the term "precariat" comes from the 'Latin *precari*: beg, pray, entreat, hence, insecure, dependent on the favour of another, unstable, exposed to danger; with uncertain tenure' (2013:134). Breman notes that Guy Standing's account of the precariat lacks the historical account that underlies historical investigations of global labour precarity. The conditions of the precariat have always existed, as I explain in the findings chapter, in relation to the minibus taxi industry. Despite the fact that there have always been varying forms of precarity under capitalist modes of production, precariousness is widely defined in reference to what workers lack (Jonna and Foster 2016:21). It remains questionable as to whether the term "precariat" is relevant 'for the millions of workers and urban poor in the Global South for whom precariousness has always been a seemingly natural condition' (Munck 2013:747). The precariat's labour, by its very nature, is insecure. As such, the precariat is associated with casualisation, informalisation, part-time employment and labour brokers. These forms of work arrangements are steadily increasing globally. Numerous problems arise as a result: The precariat lack access to paid vacations, medical leave and company pensions. They also face particular challenges with regard to quality of work, feelings of less job security, the lack of a fixed career plan, and fewer training and career development opportunities. Precariat forms of employment are usually associated with low incomes and, what is widely referred to as non-standard employment. The world is experiencing a growth in non-standard forms of employment, which appears as a new standard different from standard employment. The emergence of non-standard work arrangements has given rise to a situation where trade unions are having to "organise the unorganised" casual and part-time, temporary workers.

The precariat further raises the question as to whether working conditions have become more precarious around the world. If the answer to this question is yes, can we therefore surmise that those performing precarious work can be considered as a class, in the sense of 'being a group that has a distinct structural position in modern capitalism' (Frase 2013:11). Standing is clear in

his position, considering the precariat as a new class and stating that its growth could lead to a politics of inferno. The politics of inferno is not a prediction, he says, but 'the current trends will usher in what could be described as a politics of inferno, with ugly shades of not-so-distant past' (Standing 2012:598). In other words, the current conditions of social and economic insecurities, including the growing number of people lacking basic social, political, cultural and economic rights will lead to a situation whereby people turn their anger towards the state, which is perceived as letting them down (Kute 2017). However, Standing obscures the different context of precarious work in other parts of the Global South. For example, many of the features that Standing associates with the precariat have always been widespread among minibus taxi industry workers in the South. Inequality within society relating to precariousness is nothing new in other parts of the Global South, with rising unemployment rates. In this context, workers must find employment, whether precarious or not, in order to make a living. For some unemployed people, finding work in the minibus taxi industry is an alternative (Competition Commission 2020).

Standing (2011) further argues that the precariat is an emerging new class with a growing number of people around the world facing employment insecurity and moving in and out of jobs which do not give substantive meaning to their lives. However, this precarious condition has always been in existence in parts of the Global South – for example, workers within the minibus taxi industry have historically faced employment insecurity. It is for this reason that Lazar and Sanchez argue that 'precarity is experienced in different ways in the Global North and South' (2019:3). According to Standing (2011:7), the 'precariat is a class-in-the-making, if not yet a class-for-itself, in the Marxian sense of the term.' This raises theoretical questions of the differences between class-in-itself and class-for-itself. While Standing considers the precariat as a class-in-the-making, I argue that the precariat is a group of workers occupying a distinct position in capitalist production. The precariat and precarious conditions of work have long been a feature in the capitalist economy. The precariat is part of the working class, defined by its own existence – precarious conditions of work. I argue that the minibus taxi sector's drivers are a particular type of precariat found in South Africa.

In most parts of the world, globalisation has led to countries introducing flexible work arrangements in order to align with the rest of the world. Under globalisation, flexible work arrangements have been considered as important in order to improve productivity and avoid labour costs. The result has been the growth of a global precariat consisting of millions without

labour security (Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016).[14] Standing (2011) argues that millions of people entering the precariat would not know their employer and do not have a stable salary, including benefits associated with employment. However, while employees within the minibus taxi industry know their employer and some have a stable salary dependent on commission, they do not have benefits associated with their employment (Mahlangu 2002). Standing (2014) argues that an increasing number of employees are characterised by precarious existence. He argues that the precariat is characterised by three groups of people. The first group is made up of those coming out of the working class, mostly uneducated. The second group consists of migrants and minorities, often facing deprivation due to lack of settled status etc. The third group are those who are educated, experiencing irregular labour and relative deprivation (Standing 2011). While noting the three groups analysed by Standing, the precariousness of employment in South Africa presents a number of complex issues that cannot be interpreted solely through a Western sociological lens (Barchiesi 2008:124). The lives of the poor and unemployed are, rather, characterised by completely different economies and survival strategies.

According to Munck, the precariat is 'by what it is not – a mythical, stable working class with full social and political rights – and by it vague feelings of anomie and distance from the orthodox labour movement' (2013:751). The precariat is indeed part of the working class. Saul (2014), in his book, *A Flawed Freedom: Rethinking Southern Liberation*, went beyond Standing and Munck in explaining the emergence of precarious conditions more generally throughout the Global South and specifically in South Africa. Saul discusses a more general reality of what he calls a 'precarious population'. He argues that precarious work

> 'begins to describe the vast bulk of the urban population, so great in their numbers that, as many more flock into the urban areas, they are hard-pressed to find any formal "work" at all, even of the kind most readily defined as being precarious – not so much precarious workers, then but a "precarious population" (Saul 2014:102).

While Saul examined the precarious population generally, this thesis is specific to the population found in the minibus taxi industry. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the discussion of the growing importance of precarious work in the Global South. In making this contribution, the following section discusses the existence of precarious conditions of work as revealed in the

[14] 'While globalized production may contribute to the causes of informality and labour precarity, other dimensions of globalization, such as greater possibilities for transnational civic society networking, actually offer opportunities to combat insecure work' (Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016:119).

literature. Theoretically, the discussion of precarious conditions of work helps in explaining the ontological existence of a precariat in the Global South.

5.2.3 Precarious Conditions of Work

Precarious conditions of work for the precariat are characterised by the following forms of insecurity: insecure employment, due to either a lack of work or the contingency of work; insecure livelihood, due to low income; and insecure representation, due to not being members of unions (Paret 2013). The precarious meaning of work is evident for South African black workers who often lack employment security. Employment security is regarded as a form of security that is mostly suited to a flexible labour market and often used as an alternative to job security. While job security is understood as the security of staying in the same job with the same employer, employment security refers to the possibility of easily finding a job at every stage of life.

The concept of worker precariousness is widely recognised to have originated from the early work of Bourdieu, Darbel, Rivet and Seibel (1963) on colonial Algeria in the 1960s. For Bourdieu, precariousness is associated with what he terms the "sub-proletariat" (in Jonna and Foster 2016). Bourdieu et al argue that the precariat is impossible to organise. In the minibus taxi industry, taxi drivers and taxi marshals are difficult to organise because they face intimidation from their employers (taxi operators/owners), as discussed in the findings chapters. This is one of the reasons why SATAWU fails to organise minibus taxi industry employees, resulting in a lack of representation rights. However, SATAWU is able to organise employees in the taxi ranks where such employees do not face intimidation from their employers (taxi owners) (Barrett 2003). This is possible in the taxi ranks where taxi owners cooperate and ensures that employees enjoy freedom of association. However, the task of organising employees in the industry remains a challenge as it requires SATAWU to go beyond traditional workplace concerns. While SATAWU continues to fail in organising workers in the minibus taxi industry, more needs to be done to make sure that the union does not, without intention, contribute towards the growth of precariousness in the industry by remaining focused on workers in the formal public transport sector. This point is reiterated by Clarke, who argues that 'the country's largest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), has inadvertently facilitated the growth in precariousness by remaining narrowly focused on full-time workers in core sectors of the economy, and on tripartite structures and agreements aimed at protecting their members' (2006:v).

Therefore, the precariat in the minibus taxi industry are those workers who experience all of the main aspects of precariousness. In the Global South, precariousness is a reality in large urban centres. According to Allen (2014:43) the three words, *precarious*, *precarity* and *precariat* trace their journey from the meaning of insecure and vulnerable work. These terms epitomise changing fashions in the academy, like the clothing industry. Words such as "the precariat" feed into the theoretical understandings of this thesis. Allen further notes that the precariat is a fashionable but quite bogus concept and denies that it exists as a separate entity from the rest of the working class. However, Allen's conception of a precariat that is not a reality and is not what it claims to be, is problematic given the conditions that workers face. The concept reflects a major problem in the movement of workers today, but does not solve this problem (Allen 2014:52). However, I argue that the precariat concept gives context to the problems that workers are facing.

Jonna and Foster (2016) argue that Marx's conceptualisation of worker precariousness was associated with what he called the reserve army. According to Marx: 'As soon as the workers learn the secret of why it happens that the more they work, the more alien wealth they produce, and that the more productive powers of their labour increase, the more does their very function as a means for the valorisation of capital become precarious' (1890:1854).

This confirms that the notion of precarity is not in and of itself new. There has always been some form of precarity under capitalist conditions, as described by Marx. Precariousness is recognised as a defining feature in working-class existence and struggle. As such, the general condition can be described in terms of precariousness, with the increasing threat of being thrown into the "surplus population" of the unemployed and underemployed, with this increasing over the course of capital accumulation.

For Gorz, 'the realm of freedom cannot exist except outside the sphere of what he calls heteronomous work, that is socially organised work' (Furaker 1984:368). However, it is worth mentioning that Gorz does not deny the necessity for some form of regulation of social life – regulation of the minibus taxi industry in the context of this thesis. It is rather disappointing that Gorz considers freedom in the context of an individual – that is, liberation of the individual – with this presenting an individualistic conception. As Furaker argues, 'it is true that individual needs will never totally coincide with those of society as a whole' (1984:368). Most definitely, the interests of each taxi driver do not coincide with those of society because the industry remains constituted by different contradictions. Therefore, the distrust that Gorz has of collective action

and organisation is unacceptable, as workers remain entrenched in their social conditions of precarity, in the context of taxi drivers and taxi marshals.

Furthermore, for Gorz (1980), since workers have no power, those who possess such power should provide everything. He argues that 'since their work is of use to society but not to themselves, society should meet all their needs and pay a wage for every kind of work' (Gorz 1980:40). It appears, therefore, that since the work of taxi drivers is of use to society, the state should address precarious conditions of work in the industry. However, it is not only the state that should address precariousness within the industry. It is also the taxi owners and unions, among others. Therefore, Gorz presents a simplistic view, by arguing that workers have no power and that those with powers should provide everything. The writer presents workers as passive, waiting to be saved by those with power. Certainly, no transportation occurs without state intervention or what Gorz calls 'centralized administrations/professional agencies' (1980:40). Like Gorz, who argued that workers do not consume what they produce or produce what they consume (1980), I argue that within the minibus taxi industry, taxi drivers and taxi marshals hardly consume what they produce – they consume a very small part of it. In this context, when taxi drivers and taxi marshals enter the labour process, their own labour has already been alienated from themselves by the sale. Marx states that workers' labour power 'has been appropriated by the capitalist and incorporated with capital' (1890:1631). Therefore, the labour power of taxi drivers and taxi marshals is realised during the labour process through a product that does not belong to them. In other words, these employees are alienated from what they produce. As such, Marx notes that 'the labourer constantly produces material, objective wealth, but in the form of capital, of an alien power that dominates and exploits him' (1890:1632). Like Gorz, who argues that 'every worker encounters his or her dependence upon the state at every level: for transport, etc' (1980:41), this thesis argues that the minibus taxi industry encounters its dependence in the state through regulation, for example.

It is important to note that precarious employment is multi-dimensional and the following need to be considered when referring to precariousness (Temkin 2009:18):

- ***Forms of employment:*** Full-time permanent/full-time temporary; Part-time permanent/part-time temporary

- ***Indicators of precariousness:*** Earnings – stable, long-term vs. insufficient; Social wage – extended medical, dental, pension, insurance; Regulatory protection – unions or law; Contingency – degree of certainty of continuing employment, tenure, company uncertainty
- ***Social Locations:*** Visible minority women/men
- ***Occupational Context:*** Management; Health; Sales and services; Trades, transport and equipment; Primary industry (International Labour Organisation 2009:18).

While Temkin argues that precarious employment is multi-dimensional, such forms of employment have one thing in common – they are insecure. Precarious conditions of work are characteristic of high levels of domination, exploitation and insecure conditions among the working class (Muntaner 2016). These are the conditions characterising the work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals within the minibus taxi industry. Precarious work is considered as work that departs from standard work (full-time/permanent employment with benefits) to non-standard work. This seems to be the case in the minibus taxi industry where workers are not employed permanently (with non-existence of employment contracts) and no benefits. This means that precarious work is work that deviates from standard work relationships (Betti 2016). This work is characterised by the following working conditions: contingent work, atypical work, vulnerable work, non-contract working arrangements and new forms of employment (Kalleberg 2014:1). The most recurring types of precarious work include temporary work, on-call/daily hire work, contract work, outsourcing work, independent contractors and involuntary part-time work. It is important to note that standard contracts may also be precarious, because they are uncertain about how long their jobs will last, given changing employment practices. Precarious conditions of work are characteristic of insecure, unstable and uncertain work arrangements (Betti 2016).

Working conditions for the precariat are mostly associated with irregular working schedules and varying working hours (Eichhorst and Tobsch 2017). For example, the work of taxi drivers is characterised by both these issues and is also dependent on the availability of passengers for a trip, as discussed in chapter 8. The risk of precariousness tends to increase for most workers who do not possess a contract (for example, taxi drivers), including temporary or flexible workers. Uncertainty about the duration of contracts is also a characteristic feature of precarious work. The potential risk of precariousness is considered very high in working conditions where workers are subjected to low pay, job insecurity, stress and health, lack of career development and training, and low levels of collective rights. This means that precarious work is mostly evident in the following four conditions: 1) low pay; 2) poor protection from termination of employment; 3) lack

of benefits and; 4) lack or limited access of workers to exercise their rights (for example, union membership) (Bhorat et al. 2016).

5.2.4 Forms of Labour Security

Standing (2011) argues that an interesting aspect of the precariat is that they do not have a secure employment identity. Their income fluctuates and they are what Standing calls more 'denizens', than 'citizens'. According to Standing (2011), a denizen is someone who does not have the same range of rights as a citizen; is denied one or more rights in various ways. However, Standing seems to be generalising here without making reference to those citizens that are not denied rights but have precarious conditions of work. He suggests that members of the precariat lack a range of basic rights which were historically provided to its citizens. However, this tends to ignore the fact that citizens in other parts of the Global South have historically been denied basic rights by the state. For example, during apartheid, black people were denied basic rights in South Africa. Breman argues that an explanation of the precariat cannot be solely 'based on random examples from North America, Western Europe and Japan, simply generalised and copied over to the rest of the world' (2013:136). In many senses, this thesis takes up what is implicitly a challenge in Breman's critique by researching precarious conditions of work within the industry in Johannesburg, as a way of moving beyond Standing's narrow focus on the Global North. The precariat realities from the Global South are different in each country. In a broad sense, the Global South refers to the regions of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. It is the same as referring to the Third World and periphery, referring to regions outside Europe and North America, (but not all) low-income and politically marginalised. De Sousa Santos writes that 'the global South is not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of its populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere' (2016:18). The Global South is a South that also exists in the geographic North (Europe and North America) in the context of marginalised, excluded and silenced populations, such as the unemployed. These are the epistemologies of the South. This thesis explains the precariat existence in the Global South, as different from the Global North. Standing (2011:11) establishes that the precariat is made up of people who lack seven forms of labour security (listed above in the introduction), which characterised the working class following the Second World War.

However, Standing seems to suggest that the precariat is not the working class since they lack the seven forms of labour security. Therefore, he generalises the conception of precariat and fails to take account of its existence as part of the working class in the Global South. Lee, who

examined precarious labour in China, rightly notes that 'while informalisation and precarisation are global tendencies, the making and meanings of precarious labour take on national, regional, core, and peripheral colorations' (2019:137). This thesis is situated in the South African context and attempts to explain the existence of precarious conditions of work in the minibus taxi industry. The seven forms of labour-related security by Standing (2011) mean that people must have an opportunity to find employment, remain employed in a job along with career development, work in safe conditions, and have an adequate income and collective voice in the workplace (Sherman 2016:325). Those in the precariat are considered to fare badly in all these forms of security.

While noting the seven forms of labour security defined by Standing (2011), I argue that the condition of the precariat is defined by a "continuum". The precariat within the industry are placed in uncertain and unpredictable working conditions. Like Mahmud (2015), who argued that the precariat is not only a result of the seven forms of labour security, but also '(capitals) capture and colonisation of life within and beyond the workplace' (Mahmud 2015:700). I argue that the precariousness of marshals and drivers is due to the industry's exploitative history and capital accumulation by taxi owners during apartheid. Historically, taxi drivers and taxi marshals have faced exploitation of labour where taxi owners are only concerned about the maximisation of profit. Taxi drivers continue to be subjected to such exploitation (precariousness of labour) where they have to drive (and pick up more commuters) as much as possible in order to generate profit whilst being underpaid. Therefore, the industry is defined by the existence of the precariat – the exploited taxi drivers who drive long hours for less wages. Taxi drivers are not protected against unfair dismissal.

Today, the discussions of labour insecurity place more attention on employment insecurity, that is, the 'lack of long-term contracts and absence of protection against loss of employment' (Standing 2011:11). Standing also considers job insecurity as a defining feature in the discussions on labour insecurity. While the distinction made by Standing between employment security and job security is vital, he fails to consider those who do not have contracts of employment. Most taxi drivers, for example, have no written contracts of employments with their employers. Another feature that defines the precariat is that of precarious income. Standing's conception of the precariat presents an account of those affected by flexibility within the contemporary globalised labour market.

In his seven forms of labour security, Guy Standing does not take into account that the existence of a precariat in the Global South is defined by what Mahmud (2015) calls a “continuum”. For example, the minibus taxi industry in South Africa exists in a continuum between being regulated by the state and not being regulated. That is, even though entry within the industry, including movement of taxis is regulated by the state (while most taxis remain unregistered and unregulated), the industry remains unregulated by the DoL, for example. Lee (2019) argues that Standing defines precarity and informality as a phenomenon with a number of characteristics, such as the seven forms of labour security. Lee argues however that ‘it may be more productive to conceptualise informality and precarity as relational struggles’ (2019:137). The meanings of precarity and precarious conditions of work are never fixed, but relational and relative, as well as context-dependent. Lee rightly argues that what is considered ‘precarious and informal in the United States could very well be considered secure and formal in India, Africa, or China’ (2019:137). The existence of precarious conditions of work in other parts of the Global South has always defined the different sectors.

Standing’s (2011:12) argument that ‘the precariat lacks occupational identity, even if some have vocational qualifications and even if many have jobs with fancy titles’ also needs to be challenged as it seems to close a conversation around the precariat’s occupational identity. Any discussion of the precariat should not close or complete a thought around working conditions or identity. This saying is invitational because it encourages and invites honest engagement. It is open, because it can be suggestive of a variety of options and possibilities around the precariat. Of course, as Standing argues, ‘the precariat is far from being homogenous’ (2011:13). It is possible for taxi drivers or taxi marshals to identify actions or conditions that would render them into precarious conditions of work.

The contemporary South African workplace can be described as neo-liberal in the sense that only employees of core businesses have labour rights. All other workers, such as casual or subcontracted workers have been disenfranchised, industrially speaking, meaning that they are not protected by labour regulations. The changes in work brought about by the restructuring of work in South Africa have had negative implications for workers’ protection. The precarious existence of marshals and drivers spreads outside of the workplace, the taxi ranks. According to Murahwa: ‘studies of precariousness which neglect the broader social environment outside the workplace (Standing 2011) fail to account for the lived experiences of social classes, the cultural

dimensions of the workplace and a multiplicity of activities and relations which are involved in daily living' (Murahwa 2016:25).

Precarious existence is closely related to both the work and daily life of taxi drivers and taxi marshals. As such, the literature on precarity should not be confined to the discussion of production. Precarity is linked to both spheres of production and reproduction for workers. Therefore, the effects of precarious work for taxi drivers and taxi marshals are different and are not only shown at the workplace but also socially, economically and politically (Kalleberg 2009).

5.3 Growth of the Precariat

5.3.1 Overlapping Employment Relationships

Precarious employment remains a contested concept, and it is still unclear whether the concept refers to employment relationships or is just an individual attribute. The precariat includes different overlapping employment relationships, i.e., casual workers; temporary workers; externalised workers; and informal workers (Wright 2016). An increasing number of people now experience a precarious existence, in temporary employment and without benefits to their jobs (Barchiesi 2011). In order to understand why the precariat are growing, Standing (2011) argues that one must look at the nature of global transformation. This transformation is equivalent, he argues, to what Karl Polanyi called the 'Great Transformation', which lasted from the 19th century into the middle of the 20th (Polanyi 1944).

Since the 1970s, the world has become integrated, in such a way that changes in one part of the world affect what happens elsewhere (Standing 2011). In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, precarious work increased as a result of economic transformation after 1989 and the global economic recession that began in 2008 (Haskova and Dudova 2017). Global recession brought about an increase in forms of employment that do not have labour protection. The precariat has insufficient control over their working conditions. In addition to the precariat, during the period of the 1980s, terms like flexible, atypical, temporary, part-time, contract, self-employed, irregular, or non-standard employment also started to be used (Muntaner 2016).

5.3.2 Precariat as a New Class?

It is widely considered that precarious employment is a feature of the working class population (Muntaner 2016). This means that precariousness refers to a higher level of exploitation, where

employment insecurity and exploitation are characteristic of all workers under capitalist production. According to Lloyd: 'social class is one of the many constructs by which we seek to make sense of the world around us, trying to find order and patterns of regularity in the infinite variety of our existence' (1982:24).

It follows from this that people are categorised according to the events which constitute their interaction. So, marshals and drivers are categorised based on the nature of their interactions as members of the working class. It is worth mentioning that classes are defined in different ways and, therefore, 'in arguing for their existence or non-existence we often think past each other' (Lloyd 1982:24). Standing (2011) argues that the precariat is not a class in the Marxian sense; it is a class-in-the-making. In this sense, it exists through a broad range of insecurities, but does not have a clear vision of where it wants to go, whereas a class-for-itself does have clear vision. Standing's argument is that the precariat is a class in the same way that the working class is a class. He argues that it is a new emerging class. However, there is very little evidence to support the argument that the precariat is a class-in-the-making because, Munck (2013:752) argues, 'class locations are determined by their role in the relation of production and reproduction.' The rise of precarity in South Africa did not drive the working class apart (Scully 2016). Rather, Scully argues that 'precarious workers and the unemployed live their social and economic lives alongside many of the remaining formally employed workers' (2016:167). There is an interdependence, signalling a material link between precarious workers and formal wage workers. Lloyd argues that class 'exists from generation to generation' (1982:25). It is important to note that social class refers to what people do and not only what they are – the precariat. It signifies patterns of action within the minibus taxi industry.

It is important to note that class locations are relational and determined by their role in the minibus taxi industry's production and reproduction processes, for example. Taxi drivers' location is defined by their role within the industry. However, it is not true that a precariat, with reference to taxi drivers, is defined by what it is not. Taxi drivers are defined by what they are and their precarious conditions of work. Standing (2014) argues that the structure of contemporary capitalist societies is made up of the following seven classes:

1. *The elite* or *plutocracy* – a ruling class exercising more power than the general public.
2. *The salariat* – people in stable fulltime employment, enjoying benefits, with some hoping to move into the elite.

3. *Proficians* – those with skills that they can market, earning high wages.
4. *The old "core" working class* – reliance on mass labour and wage income.
5. *The precariat.*
6. *The unemployed.*
7. *The lumpen-precariat* – (*or "underclass"*) – Standing defines this group as 'a detached group of socially ill misfits living off the dregs of society' (Standing 2011:13).

Standing's objective is not to provide definitions of each of these classes, but rather he is concerned with separating the precariat from other class structures, in particular from the working class (Wright 2016:124). I argue in this thesis that it is a misjudgement by Standing to remove the precariat from the working class. Like Wright (2016), who argues that the precariat should not be treated as a different class in its own right (Wright 2016), I argue that the precariat is part of the working class – in other words, it is not separated from class structure. They form part of class structure – the social structure. Certainly, the precariat has distinctive relations of production and is subject to unstable, insecure labour. It is expected to perform unstable/unprotected labour. It is also critical to note that capitalism does not only apply to a particular social group – the precariat – but to all classes. As such, Standing apprehends the change towards insecurity of workers, but refuses to locate it within the changes in capitalism as a whole (Allen 2014). It needs to be established that these social classes are relational and do not emerge on their own, as Standing seems to suggest.

It seems that the literature (Allen 2014; Munck 2013; Standing 2011; Wright 2016) on the precariat is centred on the North in its theoretical frameworks and empirical references. Standing uses Britain as a model of economic and political development. In his analysis, it is not clear that precarity has always been in existence in the Global South. Therefore, in line with Breman (2013) and Munck (2013) who argue that from a Southern perspective, work has always been precarious, I argue that the precariousness of work in the minibus taxi industry of South Africa has existed since the 1970s. The poor working conditions of workers in the Global South have always existed. Such workers have always been subjected to underpayment and insecure conditions. Therefore, Scully argues that 'by treating precarity around the world as a single phenomenon, produced by globalisation, the work of Standing and others obscures the different and much longer history of precarious work in the Global South' (2016:160). Also, by claiming that not all workers in the informal sector are part of the precariat, Standing appears to be separating the two. It is important to mention that 'work-related insecurities have become a common denominator when defining

precarious work' (Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016:115) in relation to the informal sector. The concept of informal work as characterised by work insecurities 'brings the concept close to Guy Standing's' (Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016:116) view of precarious work. The experience of precarity from a Southern perspective 'is marked by the nature of the postcolonial state and, later by the developmental state where this has emerged' (Munck, 2013:752). For example, in relation to South Africa, the precarious working class in Gauteng has historically been 'organised around the unemployed and insecurely employed citizens' (Paret 2013:21).

5.4 Work Restructuring and the Decline of Employment

The global economy has increasingly faced issues of trade liberalisation, deregulation and pressure applied by competitive local and international markets to restructure the workplace (Barchiesi 2011:146). Scully argues that Barchiesi's book, *Precarious Liberation,* presents 'a bold and insightful analysis of South Africa's job crisis and its implications for attempts to build a more just and equitable society' (2012:92). Barchiesi challenges the view that full-time labour is likely to be achieved in the near to medium-term in South Africa. Flexible forms of employment: casualisation, part-time or temporary work and externalisation (Theron 2012) have also underpinned the restructuring of the workplace. Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed the rise of unprotected/non-standard work, facilitated by casualisation, outsourcing and informalisation. Casualisation can be described as increasing the number of part-time and casual staff who are not eligible to the privileges of permanent full-time (Theron 2005). On the other hand, externalisation refers to business practices that make use of external practices of labour.

Externalisation occurs when work is subcontracted or outsourced to a contractor, rather than directly employing workers to carry out the work. Some retailers are increasingly making use of outsourced workers. This means that work is no longer carried out through an employment contract; rather that work is contracted through a contract of service. In South Africa, employers have begun to externalise work by using a third party, usually a labour broker or temporary employment agency, to employ staff for their workplace (Theron 2005:1257). The third process, that is informalisation, has led to the growth of an informal economy, which has seen an increasing number of people being employed in the informal sector (Appiah-Mfodwa et al. 2000). In this thesis, I define informal employment as referring to employment that is informal in relation to the forms of regulation within conditions of employment, which is the regulation of the labour process through a formalised labour contract, which includes specification of wages and job security.

Theron (2005:1256) argues that “casualization, externalisation and informalisation, in short, represent a trinity of interlocking processes”. The greatest form of workplace restructuring of these three, Theron argues, is externalisation, in the sense that it presents a shift away from the employment relationship altogether. It is in this context that Theron claims ‘employment is not what it used to be’ (2003:1256). To conclude, we can suggest that to a large extent, permanent employment has been replaced by temporary employment.

Intensified globalisation has become the order of the day in Africa, as elsewhere. Globalisation can be defined as the world's interrelationship with global capitalism, open trade, privatisation and more (Theron 2005). This process led to a transition to “flexibility”, along with high unemployment and the legacy of apartheid racially segmented labour markets. The changing labour market is made up of a rising number of casual workers marginalised alongside a "core" workforce (Appiah-Mfodwa et al. 2000).

Flexibility, and thus the notions of technological flexibility and labour market flexibility have underpinned the restructuring of work in South Africa. Appiah-Mfodwa et al. (2000:97) claim that ‘labour market flexibility is a term that has been used to describe many forms of non-standard or atypical employment arrangements’. Flexibility, then what? According to Standing et al. (1996:6), 'flexibility usually means something different for employers and employees, and something different for politicians in government, for whom flexibility can be the degree to which deviation from a standard is tolerated or encouraged.' The case for flexibility in the labour market is based on the idea that employers are limited by rigid labour markets, which are the greatest rights and benefits provided by the LRA to workers on the job (Department of Labour 2017).

Standard employment has declined; in particular, standard paid work and there has been the growth of so-called non-standard paid work, which has been largely attributed to employers' flexibility tendencies in non-standard work arrangements where production can be more efficiently and economically organised (Edgell 2006:127). This also increases the power of the employers. Employer’s privilege non-standard work because of reduced costs and, in particular, in the context of an increasingly competitive market, employers can overcome the rigidities associated with Fordism and reduce costs. Thus, it can be argued that we are experiencing post-Fordist arrangements in the workplace. Changing employment practices are mostly visible today in the increasing rate of job losses and retrenchments as a result of restructuring and precariousness in terms of contracts of employment (Barchiesi 2005:251).

5.5 Implications for Workers' Protection

In the context of the restructuring of work in South Africa, underlined to some extent by subcontracting, we find a dynamic of variable exclusion. According to Von Holdt and Webster (2005:19), workers are included economically, in the sense of being employed and earning wages within the core economy. But, they are excluded at the same time to changing degrees from the rights that are conferred on them by labour legislation and enshrined in the South African Constitution – trade union rights, basic conditions of employment, employment equity, skills development, and health and safety regulations. Many employers are finding new ways of excluding most workers from the benefits of employment.

The majority of sub-contracted workers are now subjected to job insecurity, low wages and alienated work. For them, and casual workers, trade union rights do not exist. As trade unions 'grapple with the flexible worlds of work, they lose their capacity to provide a voice for the new working poor and face a crisis of representation' (Von Holdt and Webster 2005:29). It is clear from this that the restructuring of work in South Africa has led to an increasing divide between rich and poor. While Von Holdt and Webster (2005) present an interesting picture of the new working poor facing a crisis of representation, they ignore the fact that the precariat arises in conditions where labour movements have failed in many ways to protect the proletariat. As such, like most literature, they tend to point to responses to the crisis rather than the crisis itself. There seems to be a crisis in representation, which gives rise to precarious conditions of work. The case in point is that of taxi drivers and taxi marshals within the minibus taxi industry.

5.6 Theorising in Sociology: The Choice of the Theory of Precariat for this Thesis

Swedberg argues that during the latter half of this century 'sociology as well as the other social sciences have made great advances in the kind of methods that they use, while the situation is quite different in the area of theory' (2012:2). He argues that today, sociologists are competent in their use of methods, but not so skilled in how they handle theory. In other words, some sociologists and social scientists fail to integrate theory with their literature review and findings. Therefore, methods should be integrated with the theory when conducting research. However, Swedberg (2012) argues that most researchers or aspiring sociologists focus mainly on theory rather than the ways in which a particular theory is produced. According to Hendricks, 'Marx,

Durkheim and Weber constitute the essential sociological canon and the origins of the discipline are unmistakably European' (2006:87).

This thesis theorises from the perspective of the Global South in South Africa and makes an important contribution to the precariat debates. Swedberg (2012) writes that theorising can be used effectively in the context of discovery. The context of discovery is where thinking processes are subjectively performed. Swedberg (2012) contrasts this with the context of justification where thinking processes are communicated to other people. Therefore, in engaging with precarious conditions of work, this thesis places more focus on the context of discovery, that is the thinking process about precarious conditions in the industry. This is the act of producing a theory, making a contribution to precariat theory. In other words, in Swedberg's conception, 'to theorise' (2012:2). Theorising allows researchers to find their own way through research. Therefore, as a sociologist using precariat theory, I theorise in my own empirical work. Certainly, one thing that is common between all sociologists is the notion of uncovering the hidden – the underlying social structures which give rise to that which we see, for example, the precarious minibus taxi industry. In discussing sociological theory, Turner states that 'sociology has become a highly differentiated field, with relatively little intellectual integration' (nd:1). While sociology continues to be characterised by debates over ways of scientific theorising, this thesis uses precariousness as a way of understanding the essence of work in the Global South minibus taxi industry.

The preceding sections engaged with theoretical perspectives on the precariat, presenting an outline for using theory to explain the phenomenon under study. Through the engagement with different theoretical perspectives on the precariat, it is clear that the subject of precarious work remains at the forefront of academic discourse. Much of the academic research on precariat theory has considered the growth of precarious work as comprising low pay, low-skill and insecure jobs with no career prospects and limited worker protection. Therefore, the use of precariat theory is useful in defining the working conditions of the minibus taxi industry's workers, as discussed in Chapter 8. Precarity is a debated and researched theory. This thesis will contribute to this much-debated theory. In this context, theoretically I am problematising and raising questions on how to theorise in the Global South. According to Sihlongonyane, 'for a long time the voices from the Global North have tended to dominate theory and the Global South has been the recipient of theory' (2015:61). This is as a result of social construction of the North and the South. I suggest that one of the ways to redress this imbalance is by rethinking precarity or to view precarious

labour from the Global South. In this thesis, I offer alternative acts of thinking about precarious conditions of work.

While some theorists on the precariat consider it as a new class, using this theory, I offer a critical engagement to contribute to the debate. The preceding sections in this chapter engaged critically with the theoretical perspectives. In using the precariat theoretical framework, this thesis accounts for the experiences of workers in precarious work. Through interviews, this thesis engages with precarious workers whose position is defined by a lack of labour regulation and limited worker protection or reduced access to trade union representation.

Therefore, I made the choice of using precariat theory with the intention of capturing the whole range of precariousness presented in the sector of minibus taxi industry workers. The theory outlines the class of people in the industry whose lives are precarious due to a lack of job security. In addition, the theory is used to explain the condition of those with no rights in the workplace, because they do not have employment security. In the same way, this will explain the precarious existence of the precariat within class structures in the Global South. While extensive literature discusses precarious conditions from the North, this thesis uses the precariat theory to explain precariat existence in the Global South.

5.7 Improving Working Conditions of the Precariat

The change in employment relationships in the Global South helps us to understand precarious conditions of work as part of the broader process of dispossession of labour's rights, but also the fact that these are workers who never had labour rights. The taxi marshals and taxi drivers, through their work, increase taxi owners' power. I argue that the rising level of precarious work is disadvantaging the majority of workers who do not enjoy labour rights – workers with labour rights on paper, but not in practice. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is very clear on the need to improve working conditions that are poorly paid, insecure and unprotected. The ILO further claims that precarious work is a norm in Africa, whilst at the same time arguing that this is also prevalent in industrialised countries in the form of spreading temporary employment (International Labour Organisation 2012). In order to address the current nature of precarious work, the ILO notes that there is a requirement for 'a comprehensive policy response that includes economic, fiscal and social policies geared towards full employment and income equality' (International Labour Organisation 2012:4).

Theron (2012:8) states that we need a new paradigm. He claims that this is because the paradigm upon which the current system of labour regulation is based is incapable of recognising the problems that externalisation generates. Meaning that, it is unable to recognise that externalisation leads to huge inequalities in the sense that the majority of workers are excluded from labour rights. In this context, by paradigm, Theron (2012:8) means 'the set of assumptions that underlie and inform the approach labour regulation has taken to what it seeks to regulate'. He argues that the workplace should, thus, be the laboratory where a start can be made in developing a new paradigm. It appears that there is no alternative paradigm waiting to displace the existing one, given that employers continue to enjoy the powers afforded to them by the existing paradigm (Theron 2012:8). It is thus vital that we find ways that will protect all workers now. We should recognise that the existing paradigm based on labour market flexibility continues to perpetuate the exploitation of workers who receive much less value to spend than they produce. There is an increasing need for job creation that is not only confined to those facing precariousness and insecurity, but the general working class (Barchiesi 2005).

5.8 Conclusion

Across the world, an increasing number of people/workers suffer from precarious conditions of work, as the main research question guiding this thesis. Concepts like precarity, precariat and, even precariousness have a role to play in describing more fully the conditions that characterise the reserve army of labour and the need to improve precarious conditions of work. These concepts do not complete ideas around the need to improve working conditions. Work is considered precarious if those employed have none or limited access to labour rights/social security. The work described by precarity or precariousness has always been the norm in the Global South. I argue that the precariat is part of the working class and that class has always been subject to precariousness. The precariousness of work is widely defined with reference to what workers lack, that is access to work, career growth, protection, arbitrary hiring, adequate income and union representation. I conclude that, while admitting that the definition of precarious work continues to be open to debate, it is useful to describe working conditions that are poorly paid, insecure and unprotected from the Global South.

CHAPTER 6:

Researching Precarious Conditions of Work in Johannesburg's Minibus Taxi Industry: Methodology and Methods

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I discussed the theory of the precariat in guiding the research conducted in this thesis. The theoretical/conceptual framework and the literature discussed in the preceding chapters are intrinsically linked and lead into the empirical chapters. This chapter discusses research, broadly, with the aim of understanding research into precarious conditions of work, and the specific direction that this thesis takes. The research's empirical focus is on Johannesburg, the capital city of Gauteng. This chapter is centred on two critical dimensions of research, that is, the methodology – the underlying philosophical approach of the methodology adopted, and the methodological issues, reflecting how data was collected and analysed. In this chapter, I hope to contribute, broadly, to the subject of research methodology in the social sciences and to research on the precariat.

Managing research inside the industry requires a re-evaluation of social scientific research, considering the difficulties of precarity confronting the industry in the 21st century. The research methodology tends to the research questions, 'considers and clarifies the rationale behind research strategies and methods' (Welman et al. 2005:2). For the reasons of this thesis, the inquiry centres around the TRP's impact on precarious conditions of work inside the minibus taxi industry. In directing this research, the research method included the research approach, strategy and data collection strategies utilised.

When conducting research, researchers utilise either subjective or quantitative methodologies, or both (Baloyi 2012). A subjective research approach is for the most part used to comprehend the nature of reality in social settings. Then again, a quantitative methodology is utilised when the information is gathered in numbers. The two methodologies are utilized to increase honest information about the idea of the real world or metaphysics. Philosophy is the investigation of what there is, that is the investigation of precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry as they may be.

In this chapter, I draw on the information of the effects of the TRP on precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry. I talk about the procedure controlling the investigation into precarious states of work inside the industry. This chapter discusses the research strategies as they identify with this research. I connect with the inquiry concerning whether the effect of TRP on working conditions addresses precarious work conditions, yet in addition to more extensive working conditions, for example, driving taxis in good conditions.

The main research question under investigation in this thesis is: '*What is the TRP's impact on precarious conditions of work within Johannesburg's minibus taxi industry?'* To conduct an investigation on this research, the following sub-questions are pursued in this thesis: *How the recapitalisation of the taxi industry addressed the shortcomings of precarious, ineffective, dangerous and unreliable taxis? What is the state's involvement in the minibus taxi industry's transformation? Has the TRP improved working conditions of taxi drivers and other employees in the industry or deepened precariousness? How does the minibus taxi industry form part of the integrated public transport plans of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ)?* The question of TRP's impact on conditions of work particularly considers the effect on long working hours, safety, payment system and job creation.

6.2 Methodology: The Search for Truthful Knowledge

The word truthful is used here synonymously with trustworthiness (Smith 2008). This can be understood by saying that we tend to accept knowledge to be "truthful" when we have sufficient reason to believe that it is an accurate representation of some observable fact in the world. Epistemic has to do with information or the demonstration or methods of knowing. An epistemic point of view is, in this way, a methodology that is utilised so as to recognise what can be thought about the world. Such epistemic points of view include positivism, (basic) authenticity, and social constructionism (Williams 2001). It follows from this that the information on precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry can be found either through positivism, basic authenticity or social constructionism. For the reasons for this postulation, information is found utilising social constructionism to draw in how taxi operators, taxi drivers and taxi marshals develop and consider their precarious reality. Beneath, I examine how I created information about precarious states of work in the minibus taxi industry utilising the social constructivist perspective.

6.2.1 Generating Knowledge about Precarious Conditions of Work within the Minibus Taxi Industry Through a Social Constructivist Worldview

The acquisition of knowledge regarding the methodological approach began with the following question: what is the proper strategy to make information about social reality inside the minibus taxi industry? This asks another question: what kinds of information in the business merit our time and energy? In outline, these inquiries illuminate our way to deal with research. I utilised the social constructivist perspective to decipher the idea of reality inside the minibus taxi industry and produce honest information about shakiness inside that industry. Social constructivists are of the view that individuals look for a comprehension of the world in which they live and work. In like manner, taxis, taxi marshals and taxi operators create abstract implications of their encounters. The implications they append to their encounters are extraordinary and this drove me to search for unpredictability of perspectives instead of limited origination. I contemplated the multifaceted nature of perspectives from the taxi operators, taxi marshals and taxi drivers. Such multifaceted nature is the thing that shapes the trickiness in the industry. Information on precariousness of work in the industry is in this way worked through social reproduction of the world.

Utilising a social constructivist worldview permitted me to see the minibus taxi industry through the discernments and encounters of the members. In looking for answers to the principle research question and sub-questions, I utilised the encounters from members to develop and interpret my 'understanding from accumulated information' (Thanh and Thanh 2015:24). Utilising social constructivism, I investigated the social reality from the minibus taxi industry by deciphering the comprehension of members. Social constructivism accentuates intricacy and subjectivity as basic to consider when conducting research. This postulation inclined towards the social constructivist perspective, with the end goal that the investigation of the minibus taxi industry investigates how individuals in the business operate in different ways and how they offer significance to their unstable states of work.

As per the social constructivist perspective, the social world is created and replicated day by day by individuals approaching their lives. Thinking about this, things that hold as honest information until further notice (this time, today, one week from now) in our general public may not remain constant later on or in another general public (Cruickshank 2003). This implies that information is relative, that is, various individuals in various settings decipher it, in various ways (something you decipher as an "issue", for instance, may not be seen by me as an issue). In this example, the

social world has no "outside highlights" or "social structures", as in positivists and pragmatist researchers (Neuman 2000) comprehend this thought.

Social constructivists argue that the truth does not hold as positivists guarantee it to be; somewhat, the social world is to a great extent what individuals see it to be (Thanh and Thanh 2015). Overall, consistently, the social truth of the minibus taxi industry is created and repeated in taxi positions, and on South African streets. With minibus taxi drivers driving taxis on South African streets every day, their world is created and duplicated as they drive taxis with travellers going to better places.

Social constructivism grew largely as an analysis of the predominant hypothesis of positivism. As indicated by social constructivists, information is worked through a social construction of the world. Social constructivists state that we need to comprehend social activity, we need to dive into the reasons and implications that activities have for individuals (Neuman 2000). For instance, when looking at unstable states of work inside the minibus taxi industry, a positivist would contend that specialists can basically gauge working conditions in the business utilising quantitative techniques and distinguish examples and connections. A social constructivist would contend that sociologists need to comprehend what individuals in the minibus taxi industry mean by problematic states of work, how they come to arrange certain activities as precariat, and then explore the effects of the TRP on these precarious states of work. The legitimisations about information on problematic states of work can't be detached from the setting in which they happen or the implications relegated to these conditions by the social entertainers included (Cruickshank 2003).

In contrast to positivism, social constructivists accept that good judgment and standards of society are significant, mostly due to the job they play in human information (Thanh and Thanh 2015). Social constructivists guarantee that information is genuine when those being examined decipher it as honest (Neuman 2000). It follows from this, at that point, that information in regards to precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry becomes honest during the research process. Distinctive research techniques are considered in the creation of honest information.

The value of the social constructivist perspective for this thesis was to look for answers for this research 'by shaping and supporting numerous understandings' (Thanh and Thanh 2015:25) of taxi operators, taxi drivers, taxi marshals and key informants' perspective. This perspective on

various understandings recommends that the outer truth is alterable – with the current end-goal that remains constant may be seen diversely by someone else. In this manner, various people and gatherings inside the minibus taxi industry have various views of the idea of the real world (Sechaba 2017). The distinction in recognition from the minibus taxi industry identifies with the perspectives of taxi operators, taxi drivers and taxi marshals concerning their working conditions. For instance, where representatives consider their working conditions as precarious and where the business is just worried about amplifying benefit. In tolerating the different perspectives in social constructivism, this 'regularly prompts an increasingly extensive comprehension of the circumstance' (Thanh and Thanh 2015:25). All things considered, by utilising the social constructivism worldview, I was keen on understanding data from the members and not just statistics.

6.3 The Basics about Data Collection and Analysis

Research method is a strategy of inquiry (Mashishi 2011) which moves from the fundamental presumptions to explore structure and the assortment of information. Research methods are numerous, and the most commonly used are divided into subjective and quantitative analysis techniques. The precise focal point of the inquiry was Johannesburg, the capital city of the province of Gauteng, using qualitative analysis techniques. Minibus taxis are either operated separately, or those with taxi fleets (Mmadi 2012).

Guided by the social constructivist perspective discussed above, I utilised the approach of qualitative research. The choice to utilise qualitative research was because of the need to gather the thoughts and assessments of minibus taxi industry's participants. Utilising qualitative research strategies helped me to create more data about precarious states of work. I gathered information using semi-structured interview guides. Subjective information was gathered simultaneously and examined independently. Moreover, the qualitative research approach produces honest information on how individuals interpret reality in the industry. Notwithstanding producing honest information, social constructivism helped in responding to the topic of precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry.

From the viewpoint of a subjective methodology, I drew from interviews with various individuals engaged with the minibus taxi industry. I likewise conducted participant observation and documentation on the minibus taxi industry. Integral to qualitative research 'are inquiries of "get

to", "legitimacy", "testing", morals, personality, objectivity and subjectivity which place accentuation on the forming and unwavering quality of the exploration' (Ngcwangu 2016:133). To comprehend precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry, it was important to consider the precise issues educating the business, so as to deliver a nuanced comprehension of precariousness. The dynamic cooperation between working conditions and the expansion of benefit is the basis for a decent comprehension of this precariousness of work in the industry. In that capacity, I took an interest in the Competition Commission's Public Passenger Land-Based Market Inquiry between June and October 2018, to decide the seriousness of public transport. This offered a chance to connect with the foundational issues advising the minibus taxi industry.

6.3.1 Research Design

Research design enables researchers to use social research methods in order to mainly find out about the nature of reality (Leedy and Ormrod 2010). Research design clarifies what information is required, the strategies to be utilised to gather and examine this information, and how this will respond to the research question. There are various kinds of research plans, including expressive, easy-going (likewise called informative research) and exploratory structures (Ochara 2017). I utilised exploratory research configuration (related with subjective research techniques) to accentuate the improvement of thoughts and bits of knowledge about precarious states of work, henceforth making an important hypothetical commitment to writing.

6.3.2 Methodological Issues in the Quest to Understand Precariousness within the Minibus Taxi Industry

While there is various reading material on methodology, Bryman et al (2014) and Kothari (2004) present it as a direct or straight procedure. A few methodological and reasonable issues are experienced when conducting research. It is not simply a question of conducting research utilising the social constructionist, critical realist or positivist paradigms, yet it includes exploring different logical inconsistencies. The majority of the specialists who utilise qualitative research methods scarcely uncover their encounters of accessing the field. Furthermore, broad writing on methodology inclines towards simplifying the data collection methods (Okumus et al. 2006:7).

Although extensive qualitative work is carried out in the South, encounters with arranging entry to the field remains unclear. Ntuli (2015), for example, introduced access as a straightforward procedure in his research on 'researching the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme's impact on the

taxi industry in Warwick avenue taxi rank in the eThekwini area'. The author expresses that entrance was conceded subsequent to presenting a document demonstrating that he was a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Nevertheless, by way of clarification in the finding chapters, entry to the field is not a one-way-street. Like Ntuli, Mmadi (2012) neglects clarifying the way in which he gained entry in the field. The researcher just expresses: 'It was not through their managers or taxi associations that the researcher reached participants. Forthcoming participants were taken together in an individual way and approached to take part in the research' (Mmadi 2012:68).

All things considered, this thesis exposes the thought of access – 'to pause and examine it' (Riese 2018:2). While gathering data for this thesis, I paused for a few minutes and inspected the difficulties of accessing the field for qualitative research. Mosomane (2014) also considered the 'implications of non-compliance with indicators of good work within the retail sector in Gauteng' and utilised both quantitative and qualitative research techniques to gather knowledge. Nevertheless, the researcher botched explaining the way in which access and dissemination of questionnaires were arranged. The researcher clarifies that 'questionnaires administered with individuals working in the retail sector offered insight into their day-to-day working conditions in this sector about non-compliance with not-too-bad job indicators' (Mosomane 2014:66), but fails to clarify how questionnaires' distribution was arranged. The researcher apparently transmitted the questionnaires without prior consent.

In a comparable vein, Woolf's research on investigating the importance of taxi hand signals as a method of conveying goals between taxi drivers and commuters, expresses that their 'task was to approach every individual for consent to talk with them' (2013:42), and does not clarify how each individual was asked – that is, how access was negotiated. Likewise, Bristow's (2015) investigation of the MyCiti bus system, fails to clarify the way in which access to research participants was arranged. The researcher expresses that he 'talked with three taxi operators who live and work in Imizamo Yethu and three older elders/community leaders' (Bristow 2015:9), and fails to explain the way in which access to the three taxi operators was arranged, particularly knowing the entanglements of arranging access. It seems as though he introduced access as a basic procedure, with just "yes" answers when the researcher conducted interviews.

Along these lines, although numerous research has been conducted using qualitative or quantitative methods of research, even both, often researchers fail to show how they negotiated

access to the field (Okumus et al. 2006:26). Researchers report their data collection as though this was a direct procedure. Considering this, in the following section, I discuss my experiences of negotiating access to the field – the first step in the research process. According to Ngcwangu, 'without effectively negotiating access, research goes to a screeching halt' (2016:146). Access is arranged and renegotiated as I clarify underneath, from a) to c), with my own encounters throughout the process of research.

a) Negotiating Access to the "Field": Dealing with Gatekeepers

Entering into the field for research purposes begins with the arrangement and engagement with gatekeepers (Neuman 2000). As per Azungah, 'the process of negotiating with gatekeepers to be permitted into a specific work setting to talk with participants and to gather observational information is the initial step of obtaining access' (2019:4). Arranging access into the field was not direct as portrayed in the textbooks. It included access to a field that was somewhat obscure. This additionally included confronting questions, preferences and fears from the participants. I clarify this experience underneath in the context where access was allowed. This is the initial step – a precondition – for the research to be conducted; a stage where I needed to manage the gatekeepers. Because of the nature of my research topic and research design for this thesis that required that I interview different minibus taxi industry's stakeholders, I needed to arrange access differently. Getting to the field necessitated that I communicate via email with departments (DoL; GPRE; GDoRT; and DoT) and emails to NTA, SANTACO and SATAWU. The main paradox of obtaining access in the field was that I had so little to offer to my participants, and that I, despite everything, expected to get access.

Cunliffe and Alcadipani define access 'as obtaining permission to get in to the organization to undertake research (*primary access*) and building relationships to gain access to people and information within the organization (*secondary access*)' (2016:3). In communicating with the minibus taxi industry to request access, I had to handle this process with care. This is because negotiating access to the field is 'complicated in that one may gain official permission to conduct research in an organisation but yet be unable to get cooperation and collaboration of lower employees or management' (Azungah 2019:4). I explain my experience below in the context where an approval was granted by SANTACO and the NTA, but there was no cooperation from the taxi owners. This demonstrates that the process of negotiating access to the field can be daunting and comes with many challenges (Peticca-Harris et al. 2016). The process can be

continuous throughout the entire duration of the data-gathering process. Therefore, it is important to ensure that there are good relations with research participants. During my data collection in the taxi ranks, it was important that I study the social structure of the ranks in order to navigate through the system. I had to study the structures or locations of the four main taxi ranks in Johannesburg.

In order to gain and maintain access to the field, it was significant that I create relationships with primary actors in the taxi ranks. According to Cunliffe and Alcadipani (2016), researcher and research participant relationship is best conceived from three points of view – *instrumental*, *transactional*, and *relational conceptions*. Similarly, building up affinity with research participants was significant. Cunliffe and Alcadipani contend that from an *instrumental* point of view 'the researcher sees herself or himself as a neutral investigator who does not engage with, nor unveil individual data to, research subjects (the individuals to be contemplated) on the grounds that that may predisposition the research and scholarly results (scholarly publications, and so forth)' (2016:8). Consequently, I engaged with my research participants and created their desire for the research results such that some of them requested that I share a summary of the findings.

The *transactional* point of view is concerned with researcher-participant reciprocity, 'where access is allowed dependent on offering something of significant worth to the organisation in return for data collection' (Cunliffe and Alcadipani 2016:8). Whereas Cunliffe and Alcadipani, however, properly bring up that access gets granted by participants based on something they consider significant. Meaning, if participants expect that they be given something to participate in the study. In my case however, when the participants were granted access, they did not expect that we make a deal in exchange for access (besides the request to write an MoU by the NTA).

For the motivations behind this thesis, participant relationships were created – as per the *relational* point of view, where 'the idea of the connection among researcher and research participants (individuals with various interests occupied with the research) is tied in with creating connections described by honesty and commonality and considering oneself ethically responsible to other people' (Cunliffe and Alcadipani 2016:9). All through my research procedures, I kept up a degree of trust and acknowledgment of the participants.

The way toward arranging field access is highlighted by the likely procedure for researchers to re-plan their methodology or leave the investigation (Peticca-Harris et al. 2019:376). I utilised notes from the field to describe my encounters in arranging taxi rank access. Access negotiation

difficulties in the taxi ranks, examined underneath, imply that the procedure includes defeating various obstructions, and managing power relations – that is, managing gatekeepers. Consequently, this problematises the overall outlook of obtaining access as a "basic" procedure, by uncovering my experiences during the procedure. By providing a comprehension of negotiating access to the field, I widen this process's theoretical and methodological scholarship, that frequently takes a "tip-giving", unthinking approach (Peticca-Harris et al. 2016:377).

b) Difficulties with Negotiating Access in the Taxi Ranks

According to Okumus et al, 'going into organisations can be progressively troublesome if the research focuses around a touchy theme' (2006:2). Although field access can be shown as a straightforward procedure when a proposal is written to the respective university, it is in truth a perplexing procedure, 'a multidirectional process' (Riese 2018:3). Negotiating entry to the field entails the difficulties of negotiating with gatekeepers who may or may not be able to agree. The connection between researcher and participants is haggled on proceeding with a premise.

I asked NTA and SANTACO to help when coordinating entry into the taxi ranks. It was particularly troubling to arrange for access to Faraday and Bree, with a taxi operator refusing to sign the consent form and who rather alluded me to the Faraday Taxi Association. At that point, negotiating access required that I contact Faraday Taxi Association's Secretary to organise a meeting. He prompted that I go to their associations' regional meeting, in Kliptown, to arrange access and perhaps lead interviews with taxi operators. Access to taxi ranks could not be conceded after going to the regional meeting. Rather, they alluded me to the UTAF. Subsequent to addressing UTAF's Secretary, I was sent to the NTA for additional help. At that point, I reached the NTA's spokesperson to coordinate a meeting to talk with him and arrange access to the taxi ranks.

Peticca-Harris et al note that the process towards arranging field access is highlighted by "the possible process for researchers to re-plan their methodology or leave the investigation" (2016: 376). I consistently needed to re-strategise my way to deal with the field. Given that I was not in Johannesburg at that point, my research assistants conducted the interview with Mr Malele on my behalf. I likewise interviewed him over the phone. The meeting went well, and Mr Malele said I could arrange for a subsequent meeting with him when I was in Johannesburg, if there was a need. They encouraged me to make my way to taxi ranks and mention him in the event that I face any difficulties. However, prior going to the field in taxi ranks, I was requested to write a

Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) affirming that I would not give the data I assembled to their rival, the bus service. I was still confronting difficulties with conducting interviews in the taxi ranks. I then contacted Mr Malele, according to his directions and he prompted that I should contact UTAF. The same UTAF that sent me to the NTA. I called the Secretary of the UTAF who said that everything was fine since I had endorsement from the NTA. Another gathering was organised by the Secretary of the UTAF. On attending the meeting in Kliptown, the UTAF said they did not consider it a problem, as the study will help in addressing some of the difficulties faced by the minibus taxi industry.

It is obvious from my encounters, as recorded in my field-notes, that arranging access to the field includes calculated and moral contemplations. The calculated challenge is identified with the legitimacy and validity of the research process. This is about decency and support of guidelines.

c) Access Granted

On gaining access to the field, I strolled around all the selected taxi ranks, carrying a student card and information sheets (indicating that I am a University of Johannesburg PhD student), indicating that I conduct research on the TRP's impact on precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry. I got comfortable with the taxi ranks through ordinary visits, even though I did not reside in Johannesburg at the time. From the start, few participants had no idea about the TRP and I had to allude to it as a programme to scrap old taxi vehicles. When I got into the taxi ranks, some of the gatekeepers posed inquiries that required clarification. According to Cunliffe and Alcadipani (2016:13) this is '*the rhetoric access'*, where gatekeepers pose the accompanying inquiries: 'What precisely would you say you are conducting? Any assets (stage, currency, place, and so on) is this going to need? By what means is this going to help us? How are you going to use this information? Also, by what method can you clarify what we are doing?' (Cunliffe and Alcadipani 2016:13).

Despite the fact that several of the questions were included in the study information sheets and consent forms, access was not provided immediately. Therefore, while I presented my proposal (to the Higher Degrees Committee/Ethics Committee) for this thesis and it was acknowledged, access moves beyond and involves negotiating access to the field.

On entering the taxi ranks and meeting with key informants, I utilised the following methods to collect data:

6.3.3 Interacting with the Participants

In qualitative research, researchers utilise interviews to generate truthful knowledge. Researchers create subjective information when using interviews. In qualitative research, interviews for the most part allude to semi-structured or unstructured and in-depth interviewing types. As indicated by Mason (2002:62), interviews in qualitative research are portrayed by interactional dialogue. This implies that qualitative interviews include one-on-one interactions and they may occur via phone or the internet. Interviews are additionally described by a casual communication between individuals, instead of a proper question and answer group.

In addition to this, interview conversations are centred on a topic and themes and take a narrative approach. Most of the qualitative research in this thesis is centred on the generation of knowledge that is contextually based. All these features intend to study the nature of reality, which is the precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry in this context. According to Baloyi (2012:6), interviews 'are valuable for getting the story behind the participant's encounters'. Interviews are considered to generate more information in the pursuit of knowledge.

So as to create honest information on the impact of the TRP on precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry, I conducted interviews with the participants as appears in Table 6.1 beneath:

Table 6.1: Number of interviews conducted

(*N.B. Names and contact details of participants have not been included in this thesis and kept at a safe place for confidentiality and ethical reasons)*

Department/Taxi Rank/Organisation	***Designation***	***Interviewees***	***Date of interview***
Department of Transport	Director of the Taxi Industry Development	1	August 2018
Department of Labour	Labour Inspector	1	August 2018
Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport	Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport	1	November 2018

South African Transport and Allied Workers Union	Gauteng Taxi Sector Spokesperson	1	November 2018
National Taxi Alliance	Spokesperson	1	November 2018
South African National Taxi Council;	Chief Strategic Manager	1	October 2018
Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO	Taxi Specialist and Public Relations Officer	1	October 2018
SA Taxi Development Finance	Taxi Industry & Governance Relations Executive	1	October 2018
Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity	Chairperson of the Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity	1	November 2018
Participants in the taxi ranks including commuters			
Bree Taxi Rank	1 taxi owner; 11 taxi drivers; and 1 taxi marshal	13	August 2018
Faraday Taxi Rank	1 taxi owner; 5 taxi drivers; and 1 taxi marshal	7	September 2018
Noord Taxi Rank	3 taxi owners; 5 taxi drivers; and 2 taxi marshals	10	October 2018
Wanderers Taxi Rank	4 taxi owners; 5 taxi drivers; and 2 taxi marshals	11	November 2018
8 commuters/passengers from the City of Johannesburg			August 2018
Telephone conversation with 1 taxi operator			Interview 28 April 2019

I undertook fifty-eight interviews against a target of fifty-six, most (forty-one) of which occurred in the taxi ranks. The total number of the interviews conducted is shown in appendix 1 and 2 on page 226-228. Of these interviews, most of them were in the taxi ranks: Bree taxi rank, with 13 interviews conducted with 1 taxi owner, 11 taxi drivers, and 1 taxi marshal. So, the target of 5 interviews with taxi drivers was exceeded, with 6 more interviews. This was followed by a total of 11 interviews conducted at Wanderers taxi rank, with 4 taxi owners, 5 taxi drivers, and 2 taxi

marshals. Noord taxi rank followed, with an aggregate of 10 interviews led, with 3 taxi owners, 5 taxi drivers, and 2 taxi marshals. Faraday taxi rank had the lowest total number of 7 interviews conducted with 1 taxi owner, 5 taxi drivers, and 1 taxi marshal. Out of all the taxi drivers interviewed in the four taxi ranks, there was only one female taxi driver interviewed. During my interview process with the participants in the taxi ranks, it emerged that most of the taxi owners, taxi drivers, and taxi marshals were uncomfortable talking about their salaries. As such, to move around this methodological challenge, I distributed demographic questionnaires to the participants, as outlined in the subsection below. Asking them questions about their salaries was important in understanding the nature of precarious work in the industry.

The main challenge which I confronted was conducting interviews with taxi owners who were hesitant to take an interest inspired by a paranoid fear of saying something incorrectly that would push them into difficulty with the taxi associations. While I talked with taxi operators, taxi drivers and taxi marshals, I likewise talked with senior individuals in government, as appeared in Table 6.1 above. This data collection experience is portrayed as ‘standing up just as down’ (Galliher 1980:298). I needed to arrange obtaining access and building up trust in interviewing elites in departments and organisations. Liu characterises elites as alluding to 'various individuals or things relying upon the area wherein the term is being studied' (2018:1). Data collection is deep; it involves ethics and “voice”. In most cases, the voices of those lower down in society’s ladder are weak and often overlooked. For the purposes of this thesis, I engaged both with voices from below and those above. The voices of those from below and above are shown in quotation marks in the finding chapters. What is evident from this is that the voices from above speak at length compared to those from below. This reflects the extent to which those from above were able to explain their responses. Those from below – the taxi drivers and taxi marshals – did not have a lot to describe, but just responded to questions asked. Some encounters with interviewing individuals in authority, for example, the Roads and Transport Gauteng’s MEC, was that of the interview relationship. Such individuals are educated concerning the minibus taxi industry and have 'powerful relational abilities emerging from their roles as leaders’ (Liu 2018:6). In interviewing individuals in places of power, it was important to show that I have done my work as far as anyone is concerned on the subject under scrutiny.

6.3.4 Methodological Challenges During Interviews in the Taxi Ranks: Introduction of Demographic Questionnaires

According to Stojanov and Dobrilovic, a 'detailed understanding or exploration of a phenomenon or a problem can be achieved only if the research is conducted in the context where they occur' (nd:3). Therefore, as outlined above, I conducted my interviews with taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. Through this process, I increased my comprehension of the idea of work in the taxi ranks. This comprehension is what Jana characterises as 'the knowledge and understanding that the researcher creates during the research process' (1993:434). In any case, when I had a conversation with the taxi ranks' participants to increase precarity comprehension, many could not discuss monthly salaries. As such, it was critical that I be cautious about what Randall and Koppenhaver see as a 'flawed assumption that everything can be discussed. There likely could be sure subjects which individuals are denied from *discussing* about as well as which they are debilitated from *thinking'* (2004:74). Participants' silence and unwillingness to discuss incomes per month did not mean that they considered the research irrelevant. It just implied that they regarded the theme as one which could not be talked about with anybody (unless the person is from the taxi rank). The literature in this field (Mahlangu 2002; Baloyi 2012) has revealed that taxi drivers are underpaid, what I later examine in the finding chapters as characterising precarious conditions of work for taxi drivers.

I presented demographic questionnaires (shown in appendix 13), in order to overcome the methodological difficulties of asking questions that were considered "uncomfortable" when I interviewed taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. I utilised these questionnaires to pick up participants' contextual data (Randall and Koppenhaver 2004). Accordingly, I utilised both in-depth interviews and demographic questionnaires to collect participants' information. While I utilised demographic questionnaires to get background data about the participants in the taxi ranks, I figured out how to get descriptive information relating to precarious states of work through in-depth interviews. Participants had the option to clarify their working arrangements that emerge because of the TRP's implementation. This appears in the finding chapters. In this way, my demographic questionnaires had the following sections, as appear in appendix 14 on page 256:

- Participants' categories (a taxi driver, taxi marshal and taxi owner).
- Demographic details about age, gender, language, highest qualification standard and nationality.
- Participants' employment status of participants (full-time, part-time, or self-employed).
- Participants' monthly income (three categories: lower than R5000; in the middle of R5000 and R10 000; and beyond R10 000).

I used the in-depth interviews to gather information about the experiences of precarious employment of those from below. The taxi drivers and taxi marshals described their experiences of precarious work within the industry, as reflected in the finding chapters below.

The findings from the demographic questionnaires are shown in appendix 14. It is revealed in the questionnaires that the majority of participants were male – with only one female – and from South Africa. This suggested that the industry is a male dominated industry, as revealed by the literature (Sauti 2006). Participants were between the ages of 25 and 73; most had completed secondary school and some only primary school.

6.3.5 Field Notes as Part of Data Collection

After each interview, I took field notes, and this was an important source of data. In addition to data from the interviews, I used field notes in my writing-up. While the field notes are only comprehensible to me, I have kept them original as a point of reference. I also kept field notes when I was negotiating access to the field, particularly in the taxi ranks. This was important as part of gaining trust from the participants. Field notes became very useful in my report writing process as I kept referring to them for support.

6.3.6 Documentary Research

Documentary research means that one is engaging with the following documents i) files, ii) statistical records, iii) records of official proceedings, iv) images and v) archives. Ahmed (2010:2) notes that 'doing documentary research is much more than recording facts. It is a reflective process in which we confront what researchers call the *moral underpinnings of social inquiry*'. As such, in this thesis, I do not regard documents as standing alone. Rather, I consider them to be situated within a theoretical framework of precarity. Documentary research here refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the minibus taxi industry. The collected documents came from the DoT, DoL, GDoRT, GPRE and SA Taxi Development Finance. Throughout the history of sociology and other social sciences, documentary research has remained one of the major types of social research alongside interviews, participant observation and surveys. When conducting documentary research, quality control must be ensured for handling documents (Patnaik 2013). In order to ensure this, the following steps were undertaken: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. The authenticity of the documents refers to the genuine evidence produced and 'credibility refers to whether the evidence is typical

of its kind' (Ahmed 2010:3). Moreover, representativeness refers to the representative quality of the totality of consulted documents, and meaning has to do with the clarity and comprehensible nature of the documents.

6.3.7 Participant Observation

Extensively, participant observation happens when one is an outsider in another world. Through this technique, the researcher takes an interest in the daily exercises, ceremonies, collaborations (for instance, inside the minibus taxi industry) and occasions in order to learn 'the express and unsaid parts of their schedules and their way of life' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:14). Participant observation is significant in that it can improve the nature of information acquired during fieldwork and improves the interpretation of data.

Participant observation has become a central approach to social research, along with other kinds of qualitative research. This means that participant observation is the most basic form of social research, as a way in which people give their meaning of the world in everyday life. Participant observation places researchers in the position of what they study, with an interest in understanding the society in which we live. When conducting participant observation, the researcher should not interrupt what he or she finds to be the nature of the social world. The main aim of this philosophical approach is to describe the world in its natural setting and understand how people consider their own actions and those of others (Baloyi 2012). The context in which these actions takes place play a central role, as it gives a proper understanding of what is being seen. Directly related to this, I adopted an attitude of "respect" and "appreciation" towards the minibus taxi industry. In other words, while being a participant observer, I did not manipulate the research process.

During my fieldwork in Johannesburg, I used minibus taxis more often than usual. I undertook 8 taxi trips from Johannesburg CBD to Duduza and to Soweto, while at the same time recording what was observed. I recorded the operations of minibus taxis from one taxi rank to another and how taxi drivers interact with commuters. While travelling to Duduza, the taxi driver stopped the taxi because there was a commuter who did not pay. One commuter had to take out R10 from her pocket for the taxi to move. On the way back from Duduza to Johannesburg CBD, there was an argument between the taxi driver and some commuters on whether the taxi fare had been paid in full, only to discover that the taxi driver had not counted the collected fares properly. When I

travelled from Johannesburg to Soweto, the commuters complained about disrespect from the taxi driver as he forced them to pay their fares quickly before the taxi moved. They also complained that the taxi driver said they were delaying other taxis in the queue by not paying on time. This speaks to the issue of disrespect from taxi drivers discussed in part four on the usage of taxis.

My research involved my participation in the minibus taxi industry activities detailed above; taking 8 taxi trips, observing what was happening, listening to what was being said, and asking questions. As such, participant observation goes beyond just listening and observing. It is a common feature that researchers who use participant observation learn the culture of the people they are studying, in this case, the role players in the public transport value-chain within the minibus taxi industry. Participant observation is used when researchers are more interested in the nature of reality and a society's culture, more especially when exploring cultural determinants of human behaviour. Participant observation is not only based on observing and recording unusual behaviour, but also involves the participant observer joining in the everyday activities of the subjects. It aligns strongly to demographic techniques. As such, participant observation involves not just the process of observing while participating, but also includes the use of interviews, normally informal chats or more in-depth interviews. In comparison with the claim to objectivity by the quantitative method, qualitative research is often labelled as being influenced by a researcher's bias (Patnaik 2013). This leads to a closer look at the issue of researcher's reflexivity.

6.4 Participating in the Competition Commission's Land-Based Public Passenger Transport Market Inquiry, 2018

In addition to interviews, participant observation and documentary research as methods used to collect data for this thesis, I also had an opportunity to participate in the Competition Commission's Land-Based Public Passenger Transport Market Inquiry – 2018 Public Hearings. These public hearings took place across South Africa between June and October 2018. The Competition Commission undertook this market inquiry into the land-based public passenger transport sector so as to understand the general state of competition. The Commission held public hearings across the country in order to obtain written and oral submissions from various stakeholders.

The public hearings took place in the following towns: Johannesburg; Pretoria; Cape Town; Durban; Nelspruit; Kimberly; Mahikeng; Port Elizabeth; East London; Polokwane; and Bloemfontein (Competition Commission's Land-Based Public Passenger Transport Market Inquiry 2018). I sent a written submission in May 2018 and I was requested to make an oral presentation. I made the oral presentation at the public hearings in Port Elizabeth on 13 August 2018. During the public hearings, it became increasingly apparent that South Africa's minibus taxi industry is unregulated and exists alongside the regulated bus and train network. The unregulated and informal nature of the taxi industry limits its potential to compete effectively with other modes of public transport.

Participating in these public hearings presented an opportunity to consider the systemic issues informing the industry, in order to produce a nuanced understanding of precariousness within the industry. Thus, the precariousness of work in the industry is informed by various underlying mechanisms. While participating in these public hearings, it was important that I maintained my research focus. This forms an important part of reflexivity, as discussed in the following section.

6.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is defined as 'the constant awareness, assessment and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution/influence/shaping of inter-subjective research and the consequent research findings' (Patnaik 2013:4). Using the research techniques discussed above, reflexivity is facilitated by making the research process a focus of inquiry. In other words, the interviewer and participants are involved in knowledge production through, for example, in this case interpreting the reality of the precarious conditions of work. This addresses bias issues, for example, the violence and conflicts in the minibus taxi industry. Reflexivity has gained importance in qualitative research, differentiating qualitative concepts and practices from quantitative research. As a process, reflexivity challenges the researcher to examine how his or her research agenda, personal beliefs and emotions enter into their research. Through reflexivity, researchers examine any pre-conceived perceptions they may hold. As I was an informed individual black person who was an "outsider," having a choice of engaging with the participants in Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho gave me an advantageous role in correspondence. Communicating in these dialects helped during the process of building trust. The upside of having the option to communicate in these languages was especially significant given that language is a hindrance for a great number of researchers, who frequently rely on 'using an interpreter or translator' (Squires

2009:277). While I had the option to communicate in these languages, transcripts had to be translated for data analysis purposes.

Reflexivity is, basically, an attempt to answer these questions: “What do I know?” and “How do I know it?” For example, this thesis does not merely study the role players in the minibus taxi industry public transport value-chain as subjects, but as individuals who are connected to me, as I anticipate impacting them in a positive way. Reflexivity ensures that the focus of the research remains on the research and its participants. Through reflexivity, the researcher understands his or her role as a participant in the process of knowledge construction or truthful knowledge, and not just an outsider-observer of phenomena. Reflexivity requires the following questions to be addressed during different stages of the research process:

- How has my personal history influenced the choice of topic?
- What are my personal value systems that influence the process of research?
- How do my gender, culture and professional background influence my positioning in this topic and my relationship with the participants?
- What are the alternate roles I might be called upon to play while interacting with the participant, apart from my role as researcher?
- What are the possible advantages that I have in terms of personal history and professional competence?
- What might be the barriers that my personal history and professional competence can create during data collection?
- How are the emerging data assimilating with my prior knowledge; making me revisit an earlier stance? (Patnaik 2013:10).

These questions mean that reflexivity has serious epistemological implications. According to Palaganas et al (2017:432) ‘these questions encourage or push the researchers to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made in the course of the research, and it helps us think about its implications to the research and its findings’. For example, some of the assumptions that exist regarding the minibus taxi industry have to do with the existence of violence in the industry where civilians are killed, as well as the disrespect towards passengers by taxi drivers, including reckless driving which results in deaths or permanent disability. Reflexivity challenges these assumptions that there can be a privileged position about the industry, where the researcher can study it objectively, that is, independent from it through

value-free inquiry. Reflexivity epitomises a new chapter in qualitative research but is not described well (Palaganas et al. 2017). The term reflexivity has to do with self-awareness, referring to being actively involved in the research process (Squires 2009). This means that as a researcher, I recognise I am part of the social world that I study. The issue of precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry is not just a research subject but a phenomenon that affects people in the industry. It is a phenomenon that influences me as a researcher. As such, in conducting this research, I did not remain a passive observer. Rather, I was an active participant who tried to reconstruct the problem of precarious conditions of work. Using qualitative research, the aim was to understand how meanings are constructed within the minibus taxi industry, the public transport value-chain and, enquire into how participants utilise their experiences to construct reality. Reflexivity allowed me to be critical about what they heard, wrote and interpreted.

Reflexivity is, however, not without challenges. Some of the challenges involve how the researcher manages the emotions of research participants. Researchers should, as such, 'be mindful of their behaviours and actions and should be aware of the "Hollywood plot" that makes the research findings seem more positive than they actually are' (Palaganas et al. 2017:427). This implies my role as a researcher in this qualitative research. Reflexivity is both a concept and a process (Squires 2009). As a concept, reflexivity required that I recognise myself as part of the social world that I study. As a process, reflexivity required that I reflect on my values and recognise how my social background affects the research process. My reflection on the fieldwork experience strengthens the research in totality. In conducting research within the minibus taxi industry, I was both the "insider" and "outsider" because I was unknown amongst the taxi owners, taxi drivers, taxi marshals and commuters prior to engaging in the research. Though being an "outsider" in the industry has its disadvantages, in particular the fact that I needed a basic knowledge of the various forms of production in the industry, being an "insider" provided ways in which to question the precarious conditions of work as they happen.

While participating in the daily operations of the industry as both an "outsider" and "insider", I was mindful of my actions and made sure that I did not interfere with the operations of the industry. The reality is that work within the minibus taxi industry is mediated by trips. As such, most of the interviews were done during off-peak hours. Participant observation was the only data collection method done during peak hours. In order to ascertain a broader knowledge of the industry from commuters, I listened to their conversations and participated where necessary.

6.6 Searching for Meaning in the Data: Analysis

So, using qualitative research techniques, in order to analyse data, I embraced these stages: getting familiarised and immersed with evidence, inciting and unloading themes, evidence coding on themes, themes' connections, as well as interpretation, including comprehension. I followed the following six stages: getting comfortable with the information; generating initial codes; themes searched; themes reviewed; themes defined; and reports drawn up (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly 2006). The initial step included perusing the transcripts a few times, so I got comfortable with the information as a whole. Through producing codes in the subsequent advance, I sorted out information in a methodical and significant manner. Codes were identified with the views of participants in the industry on the TRP's impact on precarious conditions of work inside the minibus taxi industry. Other codes had to do with the state's role in the industry. Codes were sorted out to themes that are more extensive to reflect the research question.

Through exploring the topics, I thought about how a theme respectively was validated by the information gathered. Subsequently, I utilised thematic analysis since interview questions were open-ended. Themes originated from the codes. After every participant observation, I used thematic analysis to distinguish, analyse, describe and report a theme (Nowell et al. 2017). So as to give progressively compelling analysis, researchers additionally need to ponder themselves. This involves looking at and recognising consciously the presumptions and previously established tendencies that researchers carry into the study and that form the outcome. Researchers look for clarification and comprehension when analysing data. Data analysis processes involve 'data reduction, data display and reaching and checking determinations – and give a general perspective on data analysis' (Ahmed 2010:6). Analysing data from qualitative research ordinarily includes utilisation of thematic content analysis, recognising, analysis, and reporting data. Such are ways by which the researcher moves from the subjective knowledge collected to some kind of topical categorisation in a controlled and precise manner, and then to obtain, decode and explain (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly 2006). Themes catch something significant about the information corresponding to the research question. Maguire and Delahunt characterise thematic analysis as 'the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data' (2017:352).

When presenting the findings, a researcher needs to be sure of the ways in which the findings contribute critical perspectives to public debate. Therefore, this thesis uses reflexive data analysis, by eliminating any desire to control data with preconceived ideas of violence and conflict

(Palaganas et al. 2017). When analysing documents, I considered the collected documents for authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Through reflexivity, in the analysis of data, researchers discover 'how they were shaped by the research process and output is an iterative and empowering process' (Palaganas et al. 2017:426). The analytical attention of the researchers in qualitative research is important here. The point of reflexivity in this thesis is to make explicit the relationship between the influence of the researcher and participants.

In this thesis, interviews were conducted in accordance with the consent of the participants and what they were comfortable with: location (inside the taxi/rank; office of the department), interviewer (male or female), recording (audio-recording or note-taking only) and language (English or vernacular). Audio recordings were transcribed and quality checked. Interview transcripts were back-translated in the case of translation. The interviews that were not recorded were typed as transcripts and quality checked against the notes. Distinctive remarks from the interviews are given in the finding chapters as quotations.

6.7 Trustworthiness

In using social constructionism as the epistemic standpoint for this thesis, my concern was whether the findings and truthful claims are in fact true knowledge (Nowell et al. 2017). While noting the impossibility to attain truthful knowledge, it was important to strive for elimination of falsity, inaccuracy and error in conducting research.

6.8 Ethical Issues

Prior to the collection of data, I obtained an ethical clearance number (REC-02-156-2017) from the Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee. The Committee confirmed that my study complies with the approved ethical standards of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Johannesburg. In conducting interviews for this research, it was important to seek consent from the interviewees. All the participants were required to sign consent forms. Privacy and anonymity were taken into consideration. Participants were not coerced into participating in this research and participation was voluntary. Related to voluntary participation, this research ensured informed consent. This means that participants were informed of the procedures and risks involved in research and, gave consent to participate in research. I also ensured participants that there would be no harm in taking part in the study. In addition, participant's confidentiality/anonymity was guaranteed. To ensure confidentiality, the participant's names and contact details are not included

in this thesis. I refer to participants by their positions or organisations as shown in the finding chapters below. When doing participant observation, I was discreet enough about who I am and what I was doing so that I did not disrupt normal activity, yet open enough that the people I observed and interacted with did not feel that my presence compromised their privacy. As I navigated the taxi ranks during the taxi collection process, I sought to avoid risks of being attacked for being an outsider. I engaged with the participants in ways that they could understand me, such as using languages that they could understand.

6.9 Study Limitations

There are certain research limitations associated with this study, in that it cannot cover all the issues surrounding the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. The study only focused on precariousness within the minibus taxi industry. While the study was limited within the Johannesburg context, the programme (TRP) under investigation is a national competency – in other words, it is the responsibility of the DoT.

Of the four Johannesburg's taxi ranks, I planned to arrange access and interviews as follows: five taxi drivers, three taxi owners, and two taxi marshals for every taxi rank. Notwithstanding, out of the considerable number of taxi rank data collection conducted, an aggregate of nine taxi owners was met against the target of twelve. This is on the grounds that taxi owners showed a reluctance to take an interest in the research because of a paranoid anxiety of being in trouble with the taxi executives. Consequently, I was helped by the NTA and UTAF to get access to the taxi ranks. Additionally, a few taxi marshals referenced that they did not have the opportunity to converse with me, consequently complicating access. As such, a sum of six taxi marshals were met against a target of eight from all taxi ranks. The main target surpassed was that of taxi drivers, where an aggregate of twenty-six taxi drivers was met against the target of twenty. This was on the grounds that taxi drivers demonstrated an ability to allow access with the expectation of bettering their working conditions.

6.10 Conclusion

In my pursuit for truthful knowledge, I upheld the presence of multiple realities by making use of different ways of understanding. Through reflexivity, I learnt about myself as well as others (stakeholders, participants or co-researchers etc.). In the generation of knowledge, the following three epistemic standpoints are important: positivism, critical realism and social constructionism.

These epistemic standpoints generate knowledge as justified true belief and this forms part of epistemology. Epistemology is defined as the study of knowledge and justified belief. According to positivism, valid knowledge can only be produced on the basis of direct observation. Observation here means only accepting empirical evidence (justification). In contrast to this, social constructionism is grounded in the fact that the social world is produced and reproduced on a daily basis by people going about their lives. Knowledge is, thus, built through a social construction of the world. The social constructivists' worldview primarily concerns the question regarding the sources of our concepts and knowledge. In the quest for the pursuit of knowledge, different research methods are used. Through the construction of knowledge, researchers must recognise the changes in themselves as a result of the research process. This means that researchers should ensure reflexivity through analytical attention to their roles in qualitative research.

PART THREE: PRECARIOUS CONDITIONS OF WORK WITHIN THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY: A DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This part of the thesis discusses the findings from the interviews and documentary research over three chapters (chapters 7, 8 and 9). The chapters in this section draw from the key documents of the DoT, GDoRT, and DoEL. This section will also draw from interviews with minibus taxi industry's key stakeholders who continue to play an important part in the public transport arena. The aim of this section is to identify coherence between the findings and the literature and to also demonstrate how the findings challenge the literature.

Chapter 7 explores the public transport system in Gauteng and makes reference to the minibus taxi industry. This chapter discusses the challenges facing the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg, which include among other issues, taxi violence which led to the closure of 6 taxi ranks in Soweto from 15 March to 15 June 2019. These challenges exemplify the lack of strategic intervention by the state in the industry – which is a case of precariousness imposed from above. This chapter also explores the regulation of the minibus taxi industry, discussing the licensing of taxi operators and the questions of legality versus illegality of taxi operators. Chapter 7 also discusses the unregulated minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg.

CHAPTER 7:

The Unregulated Minibus Taxi Industry and Lack of State Strategic Intervention

7.1 Introduction

South Africa's minibus taxi industry exists inside social institutions – the interrelated arrangement of accepted practices and social jobs to fulfil the social need. The industry is arranged around economic institutions (facilitated by the state) which manage economic and property relations. Through social institutions, the state subjects the business to some type of social control (exemplified through regulations, for example licensing of taxis). In any case, while the state subjects the industry to social control, the state is portrayed, by an example of strategic selectivity, which shows that institutions (departments) privilege some actors over others. With regards to this thesis, government practices strategic selectivity by privileging formalised public transport over the casual minibus taxi industry. This is an instance of a lack of state strategic intervention in the industry, as I argue in this chapter. Such a lack signifies that the industry continues to be neglected to the advantage of formalised public transport modes. Therefore, the precariat in the industry are subjected to marginality, social exclusion, discrimination and neglect.

The minibus taxi industry is characterised by complex social processes. In this chapter, I am interested in unpacking the repetitive forms of actions and reactions within the industry. The industry has repetitive forms of irregularity existing alongside attempts by the state to regulate it. Social processes in the industry occur in the context where taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals interact with each other. These social processes assisted me to interpret and understand the context of precariousness in the industry. The industry keeps on being arranged in what Clarke regards as 'regulated precariousness' (2006:238). State regulation of the minibus taxi sector have been sought for throughout the years but without success (only challenges). The social processes in the industry help to decide the qualities of taxi operators, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. These processes influence the ways in which taxi industry actors enter into social relationships with each other. Therefore, the processes influence the informal ways defining the nature of the industry. Sociologists have considered five social processes, namely: integration, socialisation, status, power, and adaptation (Bourdieu 2005). The social integration process is exemplified by the behaviour of taxi owners, taxi marshals and taxi drivers.

The argument of this chapter is that it is important that the minibus taxi industry be incorporated into Gauteng's public transport plans. The aim of this chapter is to fill the noticeable gap in the literature on the factors leading to precariousness within the industry – in the Global South. In chapter 4, I noted that the majority of literature on the minibus taxi industry concentrates on describing the TRP and the factors affecting its implementation (Baloyi, 2012; Browning, 2006; Chiloane-Tsoka 2006; Hua and Ray 2017; Moyake 2006; Ntuli 2015; Schalekamp et al. 2010; Woolf 2013; and Wosiyana 2013), without studying the precariousness of work within the industry. I argue in this chapter that regulation is not just significant for guaranteeing that the industry works, as indicated by the laws of the country. Regulation is likewise significant for guaranteeing government subsidies for the sector and furthermore works/contends productively and adequately. As it were, this is an instance of state contribution in the sector. While the state exhibited a lack of strategic intervention in the industry, revealed through the lack of the industry's integration in government plans, including lack of subsidies, it is critical in entry regulation of the industry. While this is so, however, there are cases where taxis are running illegally. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that regulation does not just tackle licensing and allocation of routes. But, it additionally addresses questions of the DoEL regulating labour conditions in the industry, and this is a necessary for affecting unstable states of work inside industry. Nevertheless, the DoEL's latter regulation has not proved effective because of the industry's failure to comply with labour regulations. This signifies, to some degree, a case of ineffective state interference in relation to labour regulations.

This chapter discusses the following research findings: lack of strategic intervention by the state within the minibus taxi industry, as exemplified by the fact that the industry is not included in the public transport plans of the City of Johannesburg. Another form of lack of strategic intervention by the state is shown by the challenges that the industry continues to face, for example, the growing number of taxi operators with no operating licenses. Therefore, while I conducted the study on the *TRP, now the Revised TRP's impact on precarious conditions of work in Johannesburg's minibus taxi industry*, I discovered that the context of precariousness does not only result from taxi owners not complying with labour laws but also to the lack of strategic intervention by the state. This corresponds to Grumiller's argument that the state privileges formalised public transport and strategies over others, because 'institutions are characterised by a pattern of strategic selectivity that reflects and modifies the balance of social forces and, in other words, delineates which interests, strategies, and policies can be enforced in a given context'

(Grumiller 2019:8). This state strategic selectivity results in the minibus taxi sector's precariousness, especially in the context where the industry remains informal and unregulated.

While much has been done in transforming the public transport sector in Gauteng, with the introduction of Rea Vaya, Areyeng, Johannesburg Metrobus, and Gautrain, there is still a lot to be done to ensure that the minibus taxi industry is incorporated in broader public transport plans. This is important, especially, in the context where the minibus taxi industry is a dominant mode of transport for the public. The continued failure of the state to transform the industry signifies a lack of strategic intervention (and strategic selectivity) of the state in the industry. The exclusion of the industry from the Integrated Transport Plans (ITPs) of the municipalities is a case in point. So, while there is state regulation of the minibus taxi industry, there appears to be what Clarke calls 'regulated precariousness' (2006:iv). This is precariousness from above resulting in the marginality, neglect and social exclusion of the precariat in the industry. In this context, it appears that the precariat is trapped (Standing 2011) in precarious working conditions. The marginalised minibus taxi industry results in precariousness from below – the neglected and socially excluded taxi drivers and taxi marshals.

7.2 Sociological Outlook on Regulation

The literature review chapters showed that the industry changed from being intensively regulated during the apartheid era before 1987 to a deregulation period in 1987, which saw a growing number of taxi operators, to the TRP's announcement in 1999, to transform the industry. TRP is an attempt to respond to regulatory process concerns and disappointments. The minibus taxi sector's regulation is critical in ensuring that the industry functions based on South African laws. Be that as it may, while this is along these lines, there is an expanding number of illegal taxi operators. Therefore, Clarke was correct to claim that 'while a transition to democracy took place under the ANC, a genuine transformation – the restructuring of social and economic relations – did not take place' (2006:v). A genuine transformation would have involved the growth of a genuine public transport system with the taxi industry included in the formalised system. This chapter relates to chapter 4 on the role of the state in restructuring the industry. Such restructuring is a case of a developmental state as expounded by the ANC government (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011).

The sociological sense of minibus taxi industry regulation alludes to the industry's characteristic social structures. Bourdieu writes of ‘market self-reproducing social structures among specific cliques of firms and other actors who evolve roles from observations of each other’s behaviour’ (2005:207). The sector continues to be unregulated and informal but is not isolated from the general economy. The industry forms a central component of the national economy. It is a component of capitalist development which is subject to the formal bus and train sector.

Jessop and Sum define the regulation approach as ‘a more or less distinctive theoretical orientation in evolutionary and institutional economies that explores the interconnections between the institutional forms and dynamic regularities of capitalist economies’ (2006:3). This regulation engages with different institutional factors and social forces that are directly involved in capital accumulation. Regulationists focus more on the function of institutions, norms, networks and collective identities in guiding and structuring capital accumulation (Silbey 2011). Therefore, capital accumulation within the minibus taxi industry is continually structured and restructured through its operations and collective identities. In Jessop and Sum’s view, regulation seeks to normalise capital accumulation through the interaction between civil society and the state. In this context, regulation is ‘translated as regularisation or normalisation’ (Jessop and Sum 2006:4). Therefore, it appears that through the regulation of the minibus taxi industry, the state would be regularising economic activities.

Regulation in the industry is sociologically characterised by two categories: social regulation and economic regulation. It is imperative to take note of that, while literature and field interviews noticed that the industry stays unregulated, there is some social regulation forming part of the industry. These are social regulations with respect to and by commuters and traffic officers. It is significant that the economy does not occur in confinement. Rather, it occurs in the context of socio-economic systems. The systems interact with the economy and make it work – in this way, the minibus taxi industry is arranged in these systems. Along these lines, the industry is embedded in socio-economic relations. The industry is also described by self-regulation, with endeavours to maintain a strategic distance from state regulation. In this way, precariousness in the industry is characterised by social structures.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the minibus taxi industry is inserted in social regulations, it rides the formal and informal sector. Legislation requires the industry to operate according to transport and labour regulations. The industry is implanted in social control, which gives rules to

it to work productively. Social regulation influences each part of our lives, from the second the taxi owner registers their taxi for activity; the route to operate in; the quantity of commuters to be seated in a taxi; to taxi drivers driving the taxis, and regulations impacting how they drive the taxis. However, a great many people in the industry know almost nothing about the impact of regulations, including the process by which they are delivered. Social regulations inside the industry address the issues around health, safety, security, and the environment of taxi ranks. The Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector is a case of regulation that oversees social regulation inside the industry. For instance, this assurance controls the working conditions over the minibus taxi industry. Notwithstanding, the DoL faces difficulties with implementing these regulations.

In all societies, 'the livelihood of different groups of people is crucially determined by (a) who possesses effective control over productive resources, and (b) what happens to the output created with these resources' (Giri and Singh 2015:26). Therefore, taxi owners, including what happens to the collected taxi fares, determine livelihoods in the taxi ranks. The productive resources, such as minibus taxis, variable inputs and instruments of production are referred to as the means of production. Within the minibus taxi industry, the relationship between taxi owners (as owners of the means of production) and taxi drivers (with labour power), leads to exploitation of the latter, in such a way that the former is mainly concerned with the accumulation of capital at the cost of the latter (taxi driver).

Economic regulations inside the minibus taxi industry administer an expansive base of exercises with controls, for example, taxi fares and income generation. Along these lines, the industry is implanted in these regulations. The entry of taxi operators in the industry is dictated by these regulations. For instance, in the following section, I talk about these regulations explicitly comparable to licensing requirements, route allocation and entry regulation. The section addresses inquiries of the state regulating entry to the market. Be that as it may, while the state plays out this role, there are still situations where most taxi operators do not follow the entry requirements and in this way operate illegally. This setting gives rise to a state of precarity, where the industry works however much as could be expected to create income, lawfully or unlawfully. Likewise, while minibus taxis can be either lawful or illicit, they exist under unsafe conditions. While the industry is subject to social regulations as briefly noted above, it continues to face regulated precariousness. This results from the failed regulation of the industry by the state.

Therefore, even though the industry is inserted in social and economic regulations – it is still neglected by the government.

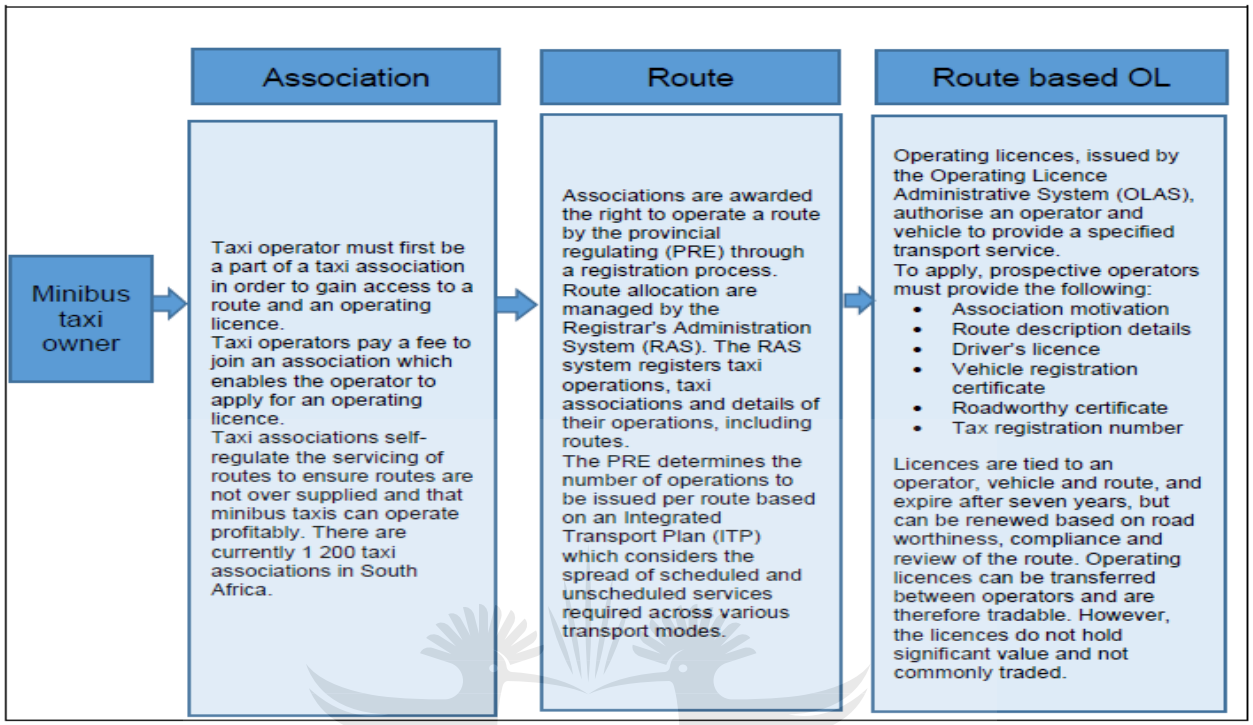
7.3 Minibus Taxi Industry's Licensing, Allocation of Routes and Regulation of Entry

In defining the social processes leading to industry regulation and giving the state its identity, it is important to remember that the state regulates people's entry into the industry by supplying operators with licenses and allocating routes (Schalekamp et al. 2010). Within social institutions, this is a type of political institution. Although this is controlled space, however, there are operators who continue to operate their taxis illegally (Kgwedi and Krygsman 2017). The industry continues to be characterised by precariousness. Those employed in the industry are the precariat as they lack different forms of labour security. The state still has a long way to go in this context in fully regulating the social processes which define the minibus taxi industry. The GDoRT has a transport regulating programme with the purpose of controlling private and public transport in the following ways:

- by facilitating the provision of Learner and Driver Licenses,
- Motor Vehicle fitness and motor vehicle registration and licensing,
- registration of operating licenses and the establishment of TOLABS and the Provincial Regulatory Entity (PRE) public and freight transport services and infrastructure in partnership with national and local government as well as private sector formations (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2017:79).

It is therefore the GDoRT 's duty to involve itself in the registration and licensing of public transport operators and their operations. The GPRE plays an important role in issuing minibus taxi operators operating licenses. While this regulation is important in the context of regulating entry to the industry, it might have unintended consequences of leading to monopolies. In other words, barriers to entry into the industry may lead to oligopoly. Such barriers might preclude the possibility of taxi owners entering the industry even if one taxi owner (a monopolist) is making supernormal profits from taxi fares (Rena and Herani 2007). The GPRE currently facilitates entry into the industry by issuing operating licenses with the directives of the municipality (planning authority). Figure 7.1 below shows the process of route allocation.

Figure 7.1: Route allocation process



Source: Competition Commission, 2020

According to the Competition Commission, 'in making recommendations to the PRE, the municipality must determine whether public transport is required on a particular road, based on its Integrated Transport Plans (ITPs)' (2020:13). In most cases, municipalities take a long time to provide directives to the PRE to issue operating licenses, which results in a backlog of applications. That, in effect, results in some operators continuing to be unlawfully on the road and endangering the lives of commuters. In Gauteng, the backlog of applications for operating licenses can be traced back to 2007. In general, it takes approximately 9 to 18 months[15] for operating licenses to be issued in some provinces. PREs are also empowered to make decisions on applications for operating licenses without directives from the planning authorities but are reluctant to process such applications. One of the major challenges in issuing operating licenses is the heavy dependence of PREs on the National Land Transport Information System (NLTIS) for the collection and issue of operating licenses (Competition Commission, 2020). In the GPRE, the system has not been functioning for at least ten years and this has resulted in inefficiencies in processing and issuing licenses. The GPRE Chairperson describes their role as follows:

[15] This is opposed to the stipulated 60 days in the National Land Transport Act No. 5 of 2009.

> Our role is captured in Section 24 of the National and Transport Act…It's NATA 5 of 2009. (Yes). So our role is in Section 24. It mandates us to regulate public transport by receiving and deciding on applications for road based public transport which is intra provincial. However, we also have a mandate to regulate inter provincial public transport because the NPT, the national public transport regulator, is not actually up and running. So until that entity is up and running we are still continuing regulating inter-provincial public transport. Yes. And another mandate is to monitor and oversee public transport in the province. And if we look at the role of monitoring and overseeing public transport in the province, we don't necessarily have a mechanism to do that. The mechanism that we are supposed to be utilising is the mechanism of law enforcement. So law enforcement is not within our department. It's in another department. And it's actually ideal if we are having law enforcement as part of our department because then we'll be having a shared mandate, you know. So, monitoring and overseeing public transport it's a little bit more of a difficult mandate because we don't have that kind of law enforcement. I just hope somebody will wake up one day at a political level and decide to mesh this to departments as they used to be one (okay). Yes. And the idea of force of splitting them, I don't know where it comes from but it was a terrible one. Yes (GPRE Chairperson, Interview, 1 November 2018).

However, while the GPRE plays the task of issuing operating licenses, including controlling and supervising public transport in the province – as stated in the paragraph above – there are a range of taxi operators operating illegally, that is, without operating licenses and un-roadworthy vehicles, and thus putting taxi drivers in precarious working conditions. They are precarious because un-roadworthy taxis are not in an acceptable condition for driving, thereby endangering commuters. Taxi operators running un-roadworthy vehicles are also legal (Neumann et al. 2015). Thus, two groups of operators characterise the minibus taxi industry: legal operators and illegal operators with vehicles that are roadworthy and un-roadworthy. The GDoRT also faces the task of actually understanding the exact number of taxis that operate in Gauteng and Johannesburg. It shows the degree to which the State is minimally active in the minibus taxi industry. The GPRE receives between 8000 and 10000 operating license applications each year.

The second issue concerns the allocation of routes for minibus taxis: taxi associations continue to apply for their routes to the GPRE, and routes are captured upon approval. When routes are identified, this effectively means that when provided with an operating license, each registered member of a specific association is added as an annexure to an operating license. When transporting commuters, operators are required to carry that. The fact of the matter, however, is that a number of taxi operators do not meet such specifications, and their vehicles are therefore impounded. This further perpetuates the fragile situation in the industry. The municipality is active

in the process of preparing the allocation of routes for the minibus taxi industry. This also raises the question of restricting entry into the industry. The GPRE receives route allotment applications from taxi associations. The Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport also raises concerns regarding minibus taxi industry regulation:

> Legally, our primary role is to make sure that there is registration of various minibus taxi operators, such as the licensing functions that they have operating license. Historically, the old permits have to be converted into operating licenses. We are busy with that process. There is a big backlog in this process. We are close to clearing that hurdle. That's a legal mandate, to regulate. On a day to day basis there is a number of taxi conflicts, some violent, some nonviolent. We play a mediating role in the process and try to resolve it without resulting in violence and disruption of transportation services. There is democratisation of taxi associations as one of the functions that we have. We have to make sure that we supervise all the various elections of various associations. In Gauteng we have 177 taxi associations. That is a large number. You can spend a year just following associations making sure they have elections. Some of them don't want to have elections for different reasons, power play, tensions, those kinds of things. That is one of the important work that we do. There is also normal licensing function for drivers. Ordinary drivers' license and PDPs of drivers. Different functions (Former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Interview, 1 November 2018).

What emerges from this is that the GDoRT has a part to play in ensuring that all minibus taxi operators are licensed. The department continues to be busy turning permits used during apartheid into operating licenses. While the department does have that role, however, there are still cases where minibus taxis are not licensed and operate illegally. As part of the regulation process, the department regulates the mechanisms of democracy within taxi organisations.

While licensing of the industry, route allocation and entry regulation is important as aspects to regulate how the industry operates – it remains neglected in government's public transport plans. It is as if government is making attempts to replace the industry with formal modes of public transport. The ANC government continues to struggle with the successful regulation of the industry. Despite the fact that taxi drivers drive registered minibus taxis as per the regulations, both drivers and taxi marshals remain a precariat. An increasing number of people are entering the minibus taxi market, get allocated routes (some with/without operating licenses) but their workers continue reproducing the precarious working conditions. These conditions are discussed in chapter 8 below. Taxi drivers and taxi marshals have the seven forms of labour security, as discussed by Standing.

7.4 Public Transport Operations in Gauteng

Public transport plays an important role in the everyday life of people around the world. Its' role is mostly visible through the influence it has on the access of people to places of work, places of study, places of leisure and services. Public transport also improves overall economic growth. For example, the minibus taxi sector accounts for 68% of work trips within the public transport value-chain, followed by buses and trains. The Provincial Land Transport Framework (2009-2014) notes that the majority of users of public transport in Gauteng (73%) make use of minibus taxis. Those who use buses account for 19%, and rail (8%) usage making up the remainder. The 25-year Integrated Transport Master Plan reported that 'there are over 50 000 minibus taxis operating in Gauteng, organised in 185 associations. Similarly, approximately 3 000 buses owned by a combination of private, parastatal and municipal entities, provide the bus services. Approximately 1 846 rail cars are used in Gauteng' (Gauteng's Department of Roads and Transport 2017).

Gauteng's minibus taxi industry exists alongside different public transport operators. The industry in Johannesburg is not just significant for ordinary mobility in the city, yet in addition for far reaching transport planning influencing the city. While the industry continues to be a dominant player in public transport, it remains situated in a position of precarity. Also, although there are government transformation plans for the industry – a form of state intervention (developmental state) discussed in chapter 4 – and the recent envisioned collaborative minibus taxi industry and operative models by the Minister of Transport, there continues to be unwillingness on the part of taxi operators/owners to participate in this transformation. Also, the industry continues to face various challenges, discussed in this chapter, which continue to place it in a position of precarity.

For the purposes of this thesis, public transport refers to land-based public passenger transport, consisting of three main modes, namely taxi, bus and rail. In South Africa, public transport 'includes buses (provisionally contracted buses, unsubsidised buses, municipal buses), taxis (minibus taxis, metered taxis, e-hailing operators), and rail (Metrorail, Shosholoza Meyl and Gautrain)' (Competition Commission 2020:3). Unsubsidised buses provide services in rural areas where they mostly encounter challenges related to poor road infrastructure and high maintenance costs. The public transport sector in Gauteng (and in South Africa) is organised around economic and political institutions. The 'economic institutions are responsible for organising the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of goods and services' (Doda 2005:151). The state

performs this function by ensuring that public transport competes effectively. Through political institutions (government and law), the state is responsible for protecting society from internal disorders, for example, regulating the operations of the industry to try reducing stiff and violent competition. The regulation role that is played by the state means that 'social institutions include not only relevant organisations but also, in their subtle forms, also rules, regulations and priorities which may be modified from time to time' (Pandit 2016:90). It needs to be pointed out that the industry is bound to be ineffective in the absence of well-designed institutions governing it. The state, as an institution, is vital in influencing and shaping the minibus taxi industry.

Gauteng is currently South Africa's economic hub and therefore, the provision of infrastructure by the state as a social institution is important. Public transport operations in Gauteng are characterised by urban bus transport, passenger rail transport, and the minibus taxi industry. Within the public transport sector in Gauteng, there exists a minibus taxi industry which possesses conditions of precariousness. In its' Transport Operations programme, Gauteng has the objective of providing 'integrated, subsidised, province-wide public transport services, facilitate the provision of public transport services and infrastructure in partnership with national and local government as well as private sector formations' (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2017:74). The Transport Operations programme has a sub-programme of Public Transport Services, with the strategic objective 'to provide a subsidised transport services that supports the movement of people through an efficient transport network that is safe, reliable and accessible' (Gauteng's Department of Roads and Transport 2017:74).

In its annual report for the 2017/18 financial year, the Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport (GDoRT) reported that in order to improve accessibility, reliability and affordability of public transport services, it executed the following: (1) *bus subsidies*; (2) *uninterrupted subsidised bus services in Mamelodi*; and (3) *Bus Subsidy Monitoring*. The aim of the bus subsidies is to relieve commuters of high transport costs and assist the department to achieve the objective of providing accessible, affordable, reliable and safe public transport to commuters. While noting this bus subsidy by the department, it is no surprise that the minibus taxi industry is not included in the subsidies, given its unregulated and informal nature, as discussed under challenges below. In this context, the exclusion of the minibus taxi industry in these subsidies goes against developmental state initiatives (Tshishonga and de Vries 2011). The department reported, in its' 2017/18 annual report, that it managed 34 bus subsidy contracts (32 contracts are funded by the

Public Transport Operations Grant (PTOG), and 2 ceded contracts from the North West province are funded through the province.

Through an uninterrupted subsidised bus service in Mamelodi, the department subsidised the Autopax bus services and this contract came to an end as of 30 September 2017. The department entered into a new agreement, in terms of a signed inter-governmental agreement with the City of Tshwane (CoT), in order to ensure the continuity of subsidised bus transport services to Mamelodi commuters. As a result, through this agreement, the CoJ took over the responsibility of providing public transport in Mamelodi as from 1 October 2017. These bus subsidies were there to ensure that public transport operations fulfilled the needs of commuters. The department makes use of a Bus Subsidy Monitoring system to monitor the performance of subsidised public transport operators. It is clear from this that the state only supports formalised public transport operators. Thus, the minibus taxi industry is excluded from government plans of an integrated public system, with this leading to its continued precarious location. One taxi driver from Bree taxi rank explains this as follows:

> Our problem is that the minibus taxi industry is not supported by government. You hardly hear government officials making plans about the industry. Maybe, one of the reasons for this is because some of them actually owning taxis (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview 2018).

This subsection examines the lack of strategic intervention by the state in the industry. Thus, while post-apartheid South Africa envisioned state intervention (as a principle of a developmental state) in the industry, very little has been done to transform the industry. Therefore, 'a framework of regulated precariousness has emerged' (Clarke 2006:25). According to Tshishonga and de Vries, the developmental state was adopted 'with the belief that the state economic intervention could enhance and strengthen the state capacity to deal with the legacy of apartheid, particularly challenges of poverty, unemployment and mass inequalities' (2011:59). The lack of strategic intervention is grounds for precariousness from above. This results in neglected taxi drivers and taxi marshals: to use Fanon's phrase, the "wretched" of the minibus taxi industry.

While reporting on the use of public transport in Gauteng, the GDoRT, in its 2014-2019 Strategic Plan, noted that 'there has been a general increase in the percentage of households who used taxis (from 59% to 69%), buses (16.6% to 20.2%) and trains (5.8% to 9.9%)' (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2014:12). Noting that the numbers using buses nearly doubled, with this signifying that an increasing number of people are now using buses than taxis.

But, it is worth noting that the minibus taxi industry remains the dominant mode of public transport used in Gauteng. Therefore, the minibus taxi industry plays a major role in the economy of the Gauteng province and the country, Gauteng's former MEC for Roads and Transport states:

> We have done a hotspots household surveys I think it was 2013, 2014 in Gauteng province specifically. It showed that 55% of people in this province use taxis to travel to and from work. For any other reasons, I know nationally the figure is a little bit higher almost 60 or 65%, but the survey shows 55% of people using taxis for commuting to work. It forms part of public transport sector. We used the extended definition of National Association of Public Transport that classifies minibus taxis as part of the broader classification of public transport services. There are buses, trains, ferries. Minibus taxis we classify it as that. It's not an ideal situation because of heavy traffic congestion. We should be promoting mass transit (train services) in our 25-year plan. We have an integrated master plan for 25 years. We are looking at 2033 horizons, because that should be a backbone of public transport in this province. It should be supported by other transport systems. The bus system and taxi industry should be a feeder to the mass transit system. We are far from that because we have started with a BRT in Joburg all together with metro municipalities. It's a bit slow in terms of the roll-out of this project. We don't have extensive footprint. Metrorail is not in very good shape. We have a long rail network and BRT network and for taxis to support that. That's the vision (Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Interview, 26 November 2018).

What develops in this statement from the MEC is that the minibus taxi industry is the main mode of transport in the public transport sector in transporting individuals to and from work. It appears from this that bus systems and the minibus taxi industry should be feeders into the mass transit system and, therefore, there should be linkages between buses, minibus taxis and trains. While the minibus taxi industry is critical in the public transport sector of Gauteng, it faces conditions of exclusion from government plans. This, in itself, speaks to the existence of precariousness in the Global South. The industry has historically been excluded from government plans, as revealed in the literature (Barrett 2003; Browning 2006; Browning 2018; Kgwedi and Krygsman 2017; Mmadi 2012; and Neumann et al. 2015). In this context, precarity exists, meaning that precarity starts with the withdrawal of government activity from the areas of life regulating work relationships or providing welfare programmes. Therefore, precarious labour within the minibus taxi industry arises through a lack of strategic intervention by the state in the industry in a way that excludes it from government plans. This is exclusion of the neglected precariat (Hlatshwayo 2018), the socially excluded. In the following subsection, I talk about the setting of the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg, the setting for this thesis.

7.5 The Minibus Taxi Industry in the City of Johannesburg

The typical minibus taxi in Johannesburg is a 16-seater minibus, white in colour and the most commonly used model is the Toyota Quantum Ses'fikile. Minibus taxis operate an unscheduled service on fixed routes in the CoJ. The routes are managed by taxi associations. The industry exists in a precarious condition, facing forms of exclusion from the state's plans to transform the public transport sector (Imaniranzi 2015). While the industry in Johannesburg is important for everyday mobility in the city, it is also crucial for comprehensive transport planning affecting the city. Municipalities play the role of 'developing Integrated Transport Plans (ITPs), inclusive of Integrated Rapid Public Transport Networks (IRPTNs), implementation of BRT systems, provision of adequate public transport facilities, construction and maintenance of the Strategic Public Transport Network and law enforcement' (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013:43). The failure of the state to regulate the industry 26 years into democracy is a case of lack of strategic intervention which results in the rise of precarious working conditions. The state needs to implement a strategy to intervene in the industry.

In the CoJ, the minibus taxi provides what one could call the "shot-left" service. Minibus taxis in the City also provide a highly convenient service; however, the service is not always safe and reliable. The services of the industry have historically been considered precarious and unreliable, with workers (taxi drivers and taxi marshals) having to work as much as possible in order to generate income (Ingle 2009).

At the Competition Commission's Land-Based Public Transport Market Inquiry in Johannesburg on 6th of June 2018, the CoJ explained that it regards the minibus taxi industry as an integral part of the transport system. The municipality committed itself to improving the quality and safety of minibus taxis as part of an Integrated Transport Network. This is an example of state intervention within the industry, however it is not strategic enough, due to continued failure to regulate and formalise the industry.

While the municipality (CoJ) is making moves to transform the industry by making sure that it participates in the regulated public transport system, the majority of taxi operators are still experiencing a level of lack of strategic intervention from the state. This is evident within the unregulated taxi industry that is structurally situated within the informal sector (Kgwedi and Krygsman 2017). Also, while the CoJ continues to play an important role in ensuring that the

minibus taxi industry is integrated into public transport plans, the municipality faces the following issues:

- The City's role in regulation of minibus taxis as required by the NLTA is to provide direction letters in respect of supply and demand. However, in the absence of detailed integrated transport plans and due to the "time gap" between transport planning and land use development, the City does not believe it can provide credible direction on supply or demand.
- There is a significant amount of overtrading and "self-regulation" in the taxi industry due to relatively low barriers to entry and inappropriate regulation.
- Even if the City were to provide direction on supply and demand, it is highly unlikely that it could be enforced, even license holders do not stick to routes on their licenses and most are allocated numerous routes.
- The taxi industry is significantly "infiltrated" by criminal elements which is a major cause of violence (City of Johannesburg, Presentation to the Competition Commission Hearing on Public Passenger Transport Inquiry, 6 June 2018).

Thus, the municipality faces challenges with regulating the industry, a condition that both perpetuates and stimulates the precariousness of the industry. These challenges are numerous: often, minibus taxis do not operate on the routes that they have been licensed to operate on; there is overtrading and self-regulation, made worse by low barriers to entry and inappropriate regulation of the industry. Therefore, there appears to be a conflict between the need by the state to regulate the industry and a push by the industry to self-regulate. These challenges are likely to impede the realisation of state intervention as a principle of the developmental state (Edigheji 2010). It is important to note that for the industry to enjoy business opportunities, it needs to be integrated into public transport plans. The industry must also be willing to participate in order to avoid its legacy of precarious existence. For example, the industry will probably need to ensure that it complies with labour regulations to avoid precariousness: noting that some taxi owners might be against regulation, leading to oligopolies. It would be important for the state to engage with the industry to consider the benefits of regulation.

7.6 The Number of Taxi Operators in the Minibus Industry

While extensive literature (Browning 2018; Baloyi 2012) reports on the presence of South Africa's minibus taxi industry, it is unclear how many minibus taxis there are in South Africa. In other

words, how many taxi operators are part of the precarious conditions remains unknown. The former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport had the following to say about the number of taxi operators in Gauteng:

> I don't have the specific breakdown for Jo'burg but on our system we have about 45 000 minibus taxis registered on our system and I might estimate that we have another 5 to 10 000 illegal operators because we are picking up a number of people operating illegally. Because of the last 2 years we had an extensive taxi licensing outreach programme, where our teams will go out in all the regions with SARS, with the municipalities to get the taxi operating licenses sorted out. I must say I think we are close to reaching a saturation point because not many new applications have come out with the process. We have made two rounds and I am picking up illegal operators and some people don't want to register. They want to be outside the system and operate illegally or their vehicles are not complying, so they rather operate illegally (Former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Interview, 1 November 2018).

Accordingly, the number of minibus taxis operating in Johannesburg is unclear from these statements by the MEC, with the department's network having around 45 000 licensed taxi operators and an estimated 10 000 illegal operators. From this, there is an aspect of precariousness, with approximately 45 000 and 10 000 respectively, first identified by the un-roadworthiness of minibus taxis. Any operators who operate illegally fail to sign and opt out of the regulatory system.

The problem of illegal operators is therefore a severe one across the country, which makes it difficult for minibus taxis to operate efficiently. Some taxi operators die to make a profit when competing. This occurs in situations where there is killing over so-called "lucrative routes", with some taxi operators demanding influence over those routes. This speaks to the need, as described by the National Land Transport Act, for so-called "regulated competition". Regulated competition means formalising the minibus taxi industry and implementing steps to increase its economic viability (Competition Commission 2018). The Johannesburg minibus taxi industry remains marked by competition over routes. This competition means what I call "competition of the precariat". Competition is a social process 'in which organisations, individuals, communities, societies and countries are making effective efforts to gain their share of limited resources' (Doda 2005:164). The industry's competition for routes continues to be strong and this is focused on the need to generate revenue through taxi fares. Taxi fares within the minibus taxi industry are typically governed by national structures serving local as well as long-distance operators. The fares are calculated based on market penetration, and this does not vary according to consumer

preferences and income rates. Changes in the fuel market typically lead to increases in the industry's fare. Taxi fares are collectively agreed in some taxi associations to be paid per route, without any consultation or intervention from the authorities. Passengers using minibus taxis pay fixed prices / fares for journeys along common routes (Competition Commission 2018).

There is no specific source of knowledge within the industry about taxi fares, routes and frequency of trips. Taxi fares are unregulated within the industry, and taxis operate on a cash-basis. Although this is the case, the industry's annual revenue is projected to be approximately R50 billion. In comparison to formalised buses and trains within the value chain of public transport, there is no fare system in the minibus taxi industry; tickets are paid in cash without inherently consistent track records of payments by commuters. This further complicates competition within the industry and makes it impossible for the Department of Employment and Labour (DoEL) to negotiate with workers in an uncontrolled economic environment. Furthermore, the industry exists alongside the formalised network of buses and trains, as stated in the literature and discussed above. Minibus taxis compete with the commuter bus industry in this, as shown in Table 7.1 below. Although acknowledging that labour service conducts are being applied in the formalised commuter bus industry, the DoL has reported failed attempts to implement the industry's sectoral determination or working conditions.

Table 7.1: Commuter Bus Industry versus the Minibus Taxi Industry

Differences	**Commuter bus industry**	**Minibus taxi industry**
Prescribed timetables and routes	Prescribed timetables have to be adhered to, irrespective of whether the bus is full or not	There are no prescribed timetables and operators operate only when vehicles are full
Routes	Many non-profitable routes must operate, based on the social needs of the population	Services focus on profitable short-distance peak and off-peak services
Service periods	Services are mostly in the peak periods	Services focus on profitable short-distance peak and off-peak services

Monitoring of operations	Contracted services are independently monitored for contract compliance	There is no independent monitoring of services
Fares	Fares are prescribed in contract. Ticket machines are prescribed	There is no independent fare control in the taxi industry
Labour conditions of service	Working conditions are governed and enforced	Labour agreements, e.g. working conditions and minimum wages are extremely difficult to enforce
Training	Companies spend significant amounts on training and training facilities	Government/TETA generally sponsors any training activities
Infrastructure	Companies invest in infrastructure such as office space, depots and maintenance facilities	The taxi industry does not have a commitment to infrastructure developments relating to their operations
Vehicle maintenance	Bus maintenance and replacements are regulated by means of a contracting system	Vehicle maintenance practices are not effectively controlled by authorities
Roadworthy tests	Roadworthy tests are compulsory every six months	Roadworthy tests are required every twelve months
Effect of exchange rates	The bus industry is highly vulnerable to exchange rates as all bus chassis (engines, gearboxes and rear axles, together with electronics) are imported	Most minibus taxis are sourced and manufactured locally thus cushioning the industry against exchange rate vitality

Source: Southern African Bus Operators Association (SABOA) presentation to the Competition Commission Market Inquiry into Public Transport, 6 June 2018. Presented by Prof J. Walters.

As can be seen in Table 7.1 above, there are major differences between the formalised/regulated commuter bus industry and the informal/unregulated minibus taxi industry. However, while noting the differences between the commuter bus industry and minibus taxi industry, as outlined by Professor Walters, the latter industry is defined by what I would call "precarious conditions of work". Thus, even though Walters argues that labour agreements, such as working conditions and minimum wages are extremely difficult to enforce, these are definitions of precariousness. This context exemplifies the existence of precarity in the Global South. Therefore, the literature on precarity is misguided in universalising its causes. By ignoring the history of precariousness within the industry, for example, Standing, Walters and others blind themselves to the historical context of precariousness. Ballafkih et al rightly note that 'work and work relations are highly diversified and finely woven into different social, political, and economic systems' (2017:2).

In relation to labour conditions, where working hours and minimum wages are difficult to enforce, this makes the regulation of working conditions in the industry complicated, therefore further strengthening the precarity of work in the industry. In the following section, I discuss the regulation of the minibus taxi industry's working conditions.

7.7 Role of the Minibus Taxi Industry

The minibus taxi industry plays an important role in the everyday life of people across the world. The industry influences access of people to their places of work, study, services and leisure. Therefore, while the industry is structurally situated within the informal sector, and possesses precarious conditions of work, it continues to play an important role (South African Government News Agency 2019). It is critical to note that the minibus taxi industry remains a major role player in the country's economy, and it employs many people directly, including drivers, rank marshals etc. In this context, one taxi driver from Noord taxi rank explains the role of the industry as follows:

> We play an important role in transporting people from townships (their homes) to the central business district (their places of work). The role that we play in this regard is particularly important given that the buses do not transport people as much as we do. Also, our taxis are affordable to the majority of black commuters (Noord Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Given that South Africa keeps on confronting high unemployment and poverty rates, the significance of the minibus taxi industry as located in the informal sector ought not be under-assessed. Nevertheless, while the industry assumes this significant role, it keeps on straddling the formal and informal sector and is defined by precariousness. The industry is defined by the existence of the precariat. The Chief Strategic Manager from SANTACO, states that:

> The role of taxi industry is to transport people. The industry makes sure that people arrive at their destinations safely. People are transported on time to their destination. Taxis transport workers, scholars and all sorts of community members who need to be transported. That's our role (Chief Strategic Manager, SANTACO, Interview, 2 October 2018).

It is clear from this that in explaining the role of the minibus taxi industry, SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager views it as transporting people from point A to point B. While the industry plays this role, it is still not considered safe by commuters. Therefore, precarious conditions in the industry put the lives of commuters at risk. In the same way, the Spokesperson of the National Taxi Alliance, explains:

> The role of taxi industry, obviously, is to help people move from point A to point B and it also play a role in the economy of the country. It generates revenue in many mainstreams. That's the long and short of it (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview, 5 November 2018).

Clearly then, the minibus taxi industry plays a very important role in the economy of the country. While the industry plays this role, it remains neglected from government plans, with this resulting in precariousness from above. It is as if the precariat in the industry are on their own. Therefore, both taxi operators and government should seriously consider the role being played by the industry. The Taxi Industry Development's Director in the DoT states that:

> I do think that the taxi industry plays a major role in the economy for the country. I mean they transport in the region sixty-eight percent of the commuters on a daily basis. And these are people who are actually active, working in South Africa obviously contributing to what's the economy of the country. And I therefore believe that the taxi industry does play a very critical role in the country (Director of Taxi Industry Development Department of Transport, Interview, 1 August 2018).

What emerges from this subsection is that the industry plays a critical role in South Africa's economy. The interviewed commuters also agreed with the role, as one of them explains:

> The main purpose is to transport passengers from point A to their desired destination, be it work or function. In doing that, there has to be a quality service. Passengers have to be treated with respect. It's not about taking passengers from point A to B. Taxis are easily accessible in townships more than trains and buses. The main objective of their role is to transport passengers (Commuter 1, Interview, 5 August 2018).

While commuter one (1) explains that minibus taxis have a role in transporting people, he also states that it is important that they provide a quality service, a point that is explained in part four further below. This was also visible during the participant observation from Johannesburg CBD to Duduza and Soweto. It is difficult for the industry to provide a quality service in its precarious existence of being neglected.

In explaining the role of the minibus taxi industry in the economy of the Gauteng province, Chairperson of the Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity (GPRE), states:

> In the province. Um…the role of the public transport industry. Or should we have it limited to the taxi industry. If you look at the general mandate or the Department of Roads and Transport provincial department, it is to provide public transport that is safe reliable, accessible, and affordable to the citizens of this province. So, public transport operators, in particular the minibus taxi, are actually our partners in fulfilling that mandate. We are sitting years as officials yet we cannot actively provide public transport to the commuters or to the citizens. We do it through them. Hence, we are licensing them. Hence, we are regulating them. So, they are playing the role of making public transport accessible and providing it in an affordable manner. And it is also our role to make sure that those whom we license provide public transport that is safe. In other words, they utilise vehicles that are roadworthy and they don't pose a danger to our citizens. So that's mainly their role, to move our people from points of origins to points of destinations and back. That's what we expect from them (Chairperson, Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity, Interview, 4 November 2018).

The Chairperson of the GPRE explains that the role of the minibus taxi industry starts with the issuing of operating licenses and regulation of the industry by the GPRE. While the GPRE plays this role of issuing operating licenses for routes, it is the associations which govern who operate on the routes, 'with recommendations form the association an important factor in determining whether a route license is issued' (van Ryneveld 2018:58). Minibus taxis play a role in making sure that public transport is accessible and affordable to the public. However, while the GPRE Chairperson considers the industry as playing an important role in transporting commuters from their homes to places of work and study, and thus creating linkages between the formal and informal sectors, one taxi marshal from Wanderers taxi rank explains that the industry is not working as it should, as he states:

> The role of the industry for me is not working, actually, the way that it's supposed to work, it contributes nothing and we also do not receive anything because the conditions that we work under are unfavourable conditions that cause us not to go forward. We do not grow and we are going nowhere. Instead of us going forward we are regressing backwards (Wanderers Taxi Rank Taxi Marshal 1, Interview, 2 October 2018).

Therefore, according to the taxi marshals, the industry does not play a meaningful role due to the conditions that they find themselves in, the precarious conditions of work as discussed in the literature (Manolchev et al. 2018). These are the conditions of being neglected and facing marginality, social exclusion, and discrimination.

Also, while the minibus taxi industry plays an important role in the economy of Gauteng and the country, it continues to face challenges, as clarified in the following section. Some of the challenges relate to the industry not getting subsidies from government, including the challenge of taxi violence which continues to characterise the industry until 2019. The fact that the taxi industry transports the majority of people in the country means that it is a deserving recipient of public transport subsidies. In any case, this remains a challenge given the unregulated and informal nature of the minibus taxi industry. Through a lack of subsidies for the industry, government appears to be making an attempt to replace the industry with formal modes of public transport. This is also exemplified by its' lack of inclusion in public transport plans. These conditions are grounds for precariousness from above. Therefore, the neglected minibus taxi industry results in marginalised and socially excluded taxi drivers and taxi marshals.

7.8 The Making of the Collaborative Minibus Taxi Industry: A Case of State Intervention

In keeping with a corporatisation strategy (discussed in chapter 4), the former Minister of Transport, Dr Blade Nzimande, announcing the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (RTRP) on 26 April 2019, explained that the Department of Transport will work with the industry to change its business model. He mentioned that the DoT will use the RTRP to introduce collaborative taxi industry ownership and operating models through structures such as cooperatives and corporatisation. But, it is important to note that there is a huge difference between corporates and cooperatives, with the former owned by shareholders and created with a purpose of making profit. In the case of the minibus taxi industry, taxi fares (profits) earned would be invested into the corporates. In contrast to this, within a cooperative system, everyone works for their benefit. In this context, for example, in the taxi industry, every member of the

cooperative would be regarded as an owner of profits generated. Therefore, while government seemingly has cooperatives in mind when talking about corporatisation, these are two different ideas. For example, the corporates in Kenya, which the MEC used as examples, as discussed in Chapter 4, are different from cooperatives. The idea of the collaborative minibus taxi industry thus refers to the cooperatives. However, while speaking to one general taxi operator from the Eastern Cape, following the announcement by the Minister, he explained that this will never work:

> Mntakwethu (my brother), that will never work because the industry is made up of different people with varying interests. As such, there is a conflict of interest. The problem is that government officials are also involved in the industry. So, there is no political will. This condition will not be changed by the current government (Telephone conversation with taxi operator, Interview, 28 April 2019).

It appears that while government is making means to transform the industry through state intervention, as part of a developmental state discussed in chapter 4, addressing the challenges facing the industry will take time. Some taxi operators are of the view that the lack of political will to transform the industry continues to be a problem. Transformation of the industry is also complicated by taxi operators with different interests. As such, it seems that precarious conditions of work will continue to characterise the industry for some time, as long as the industry is neglected to the benefit of formalised modes of public transport. Therefore, while the former Minister of Transport, Blade Nzimande, explained in his announcement that 'the benefits of collaborative taxi industry ownership and operating models will include the provision of decent and secure employment to employees of the taxi drivers and taxi marshals' (South African Government News Agency 2019), this will take time, due to the unwillingness of some taxi operators, who also act as government officials.

The minibus taxi industry wants to benefit from economic empowerment, which ensures their full participation in the full public transport value-chain associated with the roll-out and operation of integrated road-based public transport networks. In correspondence with the reviewed literature, there needs to be more focus on training and business development of the industry. The minibus taxi industry should organise themselves into business operating companies or cooperatives, with which the transport authority can contract subsidised services. The Gauteng 25-Year Integrated Transport Master Plan notes that this will offer the following advantages:

- taxi operators gaining access to operational subsidies;
- Improvement of the feasibility and sustainability of operators and their operations;

- Further incentives for the taxi industry to commercialise;
- Improved safety and quality of service provided to travellers; and
- Assistance to the industry to advance to bigger business (Department of Roads and Transport: Gauteng Province 2013).

7.9 Opportunities for Cooperatives in the Industry

In explaining the opportunities for the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg, the former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport explained:

> I think what we need is a corporate model. I am actually convinced. For as long as we have individual operator 1 taxi, 2 taxis, 10 taxis. It's largely left to that individual then to look at the quality standards, the courtesy level, and customer care doesn't come in, but if 50 operators couple their resources and form a cooperative or a company and say we gonna run this as a business. But for now each one is trying to make his or her own living for the day. Therefore, you have a very narrow limited view. The company can have standards and say we will recapitalise the vehicle in every 4 years or say a vehicle of certain standard will not be allowed on the road (Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Interview, 1 November 2018).

From the subsection above emerges that the minibus taxi industry should consider changing its business model from the current number of taxi associations competing over routes to a cooperative business model. The MEC argues that this form of business model can be more profitable. This was supported by then Minister of Transport, Dr Blade Nzimande, when he announced the RTRP (South African Government News Agency 2019). Thus, changing the business model would give minibus taxi operators the opportunity to participate in the broader public transport value-chain. Currently, some of the minibus taxi operators do not participate in the ITPs – they are thus excluded.

While the department is facilitating engagements with the minibus taxi industry, there are disagreements between the NTA and SANTACO. This was exemplified when the NTA refused to participate in the 2020 National Taxi Lekgotla as they saw it as something to benefit SANTACO. The leadership issues between the two results in precariousness from above – to the taxi drivers and taxi marshals being ignored. The two have different conceptions of what constitutes the interests of the industry. This is one of the cases that will see the so-called collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models unrealised. One taxi driver from Bree taxi rank explains this condition as follows:

> The challenge is that the taxi owners (employers) have different interests. So, forming cooperatives in the industry will take time. Perhaps, the first step will be for the industry to sit down and find a way forward. We acknowledge the attempts by government to want to bring about change, However, it is a problem when there are government officials who are involved in the industry (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 2 August 2018).

There is a sense of unwillingness on the part of some taxi operators/owners which will keep reproducing precariousness of work in the industry. This, in turn, will have a negative impact on the role of the industry to compete effectively and efficiently with other modes of public transport and contribute to the economy of the country. Also, the state's solution to create what it calls corporates might squeeze out some taxi owners and ensure that there are no newcomers. The state will, therefore, need to create opportunities to engage with the industry on transformation. One taxi driver from Faraday taxi rank explains the difficulties of transforming the industry due to conflicting interests as follows:

> It is difficult though. Taxi owners do not get along. That's the one thing that is the problem. If I were to fight for change here, the guy from another association won't be behind me backing me up because they also want this place to change. That's because each person is here to work for his/her family (Faraday Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 2 August 2018).

What emerges from this subsection is that people in the industry do not get along due to differing interests. As such, the idea of unifying the industry by introducing collaborative taxi ownership and operating models, as announced by the Minister of Transport, will take time due to current precarious conditions in the industry. The argument for changing business models in the industry also speaks to the corporatisation of taxi associations. This corporatisation might be realised due to the different interests in the industry. As explained in the literature, corporatisation is a formation of business entities to ensure that taxi associations have legal business entities. However, it is not clear how many taxi associations have successfully transformed into legal business entities, partly because the department has not reported on this. The formation of taxi associations as legal business entities would probably signal the first step to fighting precarious conditions in the minibus taxi sector. This might also make it easier for the GPRE and GDoRT to regulate the industry. Taxi owners would need to show willingness to participate in the corporatisation of all taxi associations. This might help in addressing the problem of leadership in the industry, and by extension, precarious conditions of work.

7.10 Further Strategic Selectivity of the State on Public Transport

Through the Public Transport Transformation's (PTT) programme, the GDoRT aims to ensure 'that the taxi industry, Small Business Operations (SBO) and SMMEs participate in the provision of subsidised Public Transport Services' (Gauteng's Department of Roads and Transport 2018:85). Yet, the industry still does not participate in the provision of subsidised public transport services. This situation is proof of the existence of strategic selectivity as described by Grumiller (2019). The state privileges some of the formalised public transport system and strategies over others. This condition results in the precarious existence of the minibus taxi industry. The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) is one example, albeit taking into account the challenges it continues to face. PRASA is a wholly owned government public entity with the responsibility of delivering commuter rail services in the metropolitan areas of South Africa. Metrorail, Shosholoza Meyl and Autopax (the subsidiary company operating Translux and City to City bus services (PRASA Annual Report and Financial Statements 2018/19). PRASA continues to face serious systemic and structural challenges due to years of under-investment in passenger rail services. It also faces challenges related to operating costs, which have put the agency in an unviable financial position with decreasing revenue collection. The patronage and customer satisfaction with the agency continues to decline.

The PTT programme focuses on economic transformation through participation in subsidised public transport contracts through sub-contracting and operational cooperation. While the department plans to transform the minibus taxi industry through this programme, it appears that there is a lot to be done to empower the industry through training and development, as explained in the preceding subsections. This situation further places the industry in a condition of precarity. The 2018/19 Annual Performance Plan (APP) of the GDoRT explains that the sub-programme of the PTT, which is the Corporatisation of Taxi Associations and Portfolio Training, plays the role of empowering the industry. The field research has shown that not all minibus taxi operators are benefiting from the corporatisation of taxi associations. This corporatisation is definitely crucial for transforming the industry, but there should be willingness from industry operators. If successful, the corporatisation process can help transform the industry to the envisioned collaborative minibus taxi industry and eradicate the precariousness of work. This will also help the industry play a meaningful role in the economy of the country. The role of industry is discussed in the following subsections.

7.11 Minibus Taxi Industry's Continuous Challenges

While the industry spans the formal and informal economies, as explained by the literature (Barrett 2003), due to its informal and unregulated nature, it is characterised by several challenges, which include among others: lack of subsidies; taxi violence; challenges with obtaining operating licenses; and the costs of taxi financing and insurance. These are discussed in the following subsections. These challenges perpetuate the existence of precariousness in the industry in the Global South. Therefore, a precariat is not a single phenomenon produced by globalisation. Precariousness has always been in existence within the minibus taxi industry. Standing writes that 'as globalisation proceeded, and as governments and corporations chased each other in making their labour relations more flexible, the number of people in insecure forms of labour multiplied' (2011:6). As flexible labour grew, millions of people across the world entered the precariat. Many of those entering the precariat would not know their employers, as Standing (2011) argues.

7.11.1 No Subsidies from Government

The National Land Transport Transition Act of 2000 (NLTTA) speaks of the need for state subsidies to be directed at assisting marginalised users with respect to lowering the costs of public transport services. However, while this is so, the minibus taxi industry does not get subsidised by government, a point explained above under the section on Public Transport Operations, where a bus subsidy is provided to 34 buses. Also, while the strategic objective of the Gauteng public transport services is to provide a subsidised transport services that supports the movement of people through an efficient transport network that is safe, reliable and accessible, the minibus taxi industry is not mentioned. This proves further that government is not transforming the industry as it needs to, especially considering that the industry plays a major role in the economy of the country. It would undoubtedly help for the minibus taxi industry to be part of activities by the GDoRT to plan, regulate and facilitate the provision of public transport. While the industry is profitable, it still has to use more money to pay for the costs of servicing taxis, pay for petrol and insurance, among other things. Explaining the challenge of not getting subsidies from government, one taxi owner from Bree taxi rank notes:

> Our biggest challenge is that we do not get subsidies from government and yet we are the major transporters of commuters in the public transport sector. This condition puts us in difficult positions, especially because taxis are now expensive (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Owner 1, Interview, 2 August 2018).

The lack of subsidies from government is also exemplified through the PTOG which only provides subsidies to the bus companies. This suggests that the industry is neglected and that the precariat (in the industry) face being excluded for some time. The GDoRT, in its Annual Performance Plan (APP) for the 2018/19 financial year, explained that in the 2018/19 financial year, the department was going to manage 33 bus subsidy contracts, instead of the original 34, comprising of 26 tendered and 7 interim contracts that are operated by 13 bus companies (Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport 2018). The 31 bus contracts are funded by PTOG with two ceded contracts from the North West province, funded by Gauteng province. All the 33 subsidised bus contracts are monitored by external service providers, referred to as Supervisory Monitoring Firms (SMFs), as required by the Division of Revenue Act (DoRA) to ensure contract compliance by operators. With the minibus taxi industry not mentioned in any of this, it seems like government is saying the industry is on its own. It appears like the industry is marginalised from the government's public transport plans. Where there are no plans for the industry, the precariat continues to be excluded.

The non-existence of subsidies in the minibus taxi industry is further explained by the Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport as follows:

> The general accepted principle worldwide is that public transport is subsidised. It is understood that it is subsidised where government largely runs the services. The taxi industry is the privately run service. The question is you have private bus operators that is subsidised and you have private minibus taxes that is not subsidised. The issue now is affordability from government side and what form would the subsidy take and how would you monitor service performance? If a bus operator fails to provide bus services for that day you impose a penalty. You will be able to monitor that because we have monitoring companies, but if you have thousands of minibus taxi operators running unscheduled services, how do you monitor them and how do you give a subsidy? If you change the business model, government can contract a particular company in the particular area to monitor. In this particular area, for this type of commuters you need to provide 50 taxis that will be running according to a schedule. We will pay you a subsidy and we will take you as an operator. Who becomes an operator from government point of view will have to be a competitive process. It's not gonna be a give and take just because you have a taxi. You will have to bid for it. There must be basic service standards. This has to be linked into a model. Is there a willingness on the part of the industry to consider that? I don't see that. That's the point we have made earlier. I don't see a vision from the leadership. I don't see a move to try and consider this. (Former Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport, Interview, 1 November 2018).

From this statement is can be observed that it is hard for government to subsidise privately owned taxis. Perhaps, the only solution to bring about change, the MEC suggests, is for the industry to

change its' business model. This corresponds to literature (Browning 2018) on the cooperative strategy of the minibus taxi industry, as discussed in the preceding chapters. It is important to note that the provision of subsidies will improve the reliability and affordability of the minibus taxi industry and thus transform its precarious nature. The provision of subsidies forms an important part of state intervention in the industry. This is a critical principle of a developmental state which has been supported by the ANC.

The provision of subsidies to the minibus taxi industry by government would bring about change in the operations of the industry. The key is to subsidise commuters. Commenting on the issue of subsidies for the minibus taxi industry, the CoJ noted in its presentation during the Competition Commission's Land-Based Public Transport Market Inquiry, on the 6th of June 2018, that the CoJ does not provide a direct subsidy to the minibus taxi industry. The municipality notes that access and use of public transport facilities such as taxi ranks is free and according to them, this constitutes an indirect subsidy (Competition Commission 2018).

In my submission on the Gauteng Transport Authority Bill 2018 to the GDoRT, I suggested that the Bill ought to consider the moves identified with public transport, for instance, managing the regulation of the minibus taxi industry. It is critical to take note of the fact that the minibus taxi industry is a significant role player in the economy of the country, and it utilises numerous individuals legitimately, including drivers, rank marshals and so on.

In addition to the challenge of not being subsidised by government, the minibus taxi industry continues to face the challenge of taxi violence, as discussed in the following subsection.

7.11.2 Taxi Violence

In addition to a lack of subsidies, the minibus taxi industry faces the issue of taxi brutality that keeps on plaguing the industry. In clarifying the reasons for the violence inside the minibus taxi industry, one of the taxi drivers from Bree taxi rank explains:

> You know when we actually get there, what causes all this violence is money and routes. That's why in the taxis there is so much corruption. The other problem is that the taxis are owned by different owners. The owners don't get along with each other. That's why there are conflicts (Taxi driver 1 Bree Taxi Rank, Interview, 2 August 2018).

What emerges from this subsection is that taxi violence is caused by stiff competition over routes; corruption and conflicts within the industry. This is supported by one taxi driver from Noord taxi rank, who argues that government is also to blame for the taxi violence, as follows:

> As to the violence. You know this thing of fighting; the government is not fair. When the government gives me a certificate that this is where you will go and stop here. And then I begin to make agreements with you that you will jump this side while I go that side even though I've signed an agreement with the government. The government is not truthful, at all! The government also has a hand in the violence. You see if the government came here, there would not be this issue of violence, and it came and inquired what's wrong and we told them this and this. And it then dealt with those people. Confiscate their vehicles and take them out of the industry because they are the ones causing trouble. There would be none of this (Taxi driver 1 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 2 August 2018).

This taxi driver explains that government has a hand in the taxi violence by failing to control what is happening in the industry. Again, this reveals the lack of strategic intervention by the state in the industry in addressing taxi violence, including the regulation of the work relationships in the industry. In the same way, a participant from Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO states that:

> Vulindlela Taxi Association, Motloi Taxi Association, Siyabulela Taxi Association and Mtuze Taxi Association are all operating in one city and governed by one provincial government and issued permits by the same department of transport provincially. The quality and the highest problem in taxi industry, the government has a big input. Motloi is operating from Joburg to Orlando West. Bree Taxi rank to Orlando West in Soweto using Soweto highway. When Motloi finds opportunity in his own capacity as an association, he wants to change the route. Wants to change the route that is authentic operator on his permit. He wants to change the route from, he will say let me use, they call it an *option route*. Then he operates from Joburg and not use Soweto Highway and he is gonna use M1, and he clashes with Jabulani. Jabulani will say you are not allowed to operate here, what do you want here? Because of the government authorising Motloi optional route, they end up having a conflict. The department is also supposed to take a decision according to registration document called ATA form, which states why the association has registered and why they used an optional route? Government always use delay tactics and it involves bribes and corruption. Government has an impact in this (Participant, Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO, Interview, 3 October 2018).

It appears from this quote that the duplication of routes, corruption and bribes are the main causes for taxi violence. Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO's participant also thinks that government has a hand in taxi violence. SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager explains that:

> Many will say government contributes a great deal in the taxi violence. How do they do that? *One* is the issuing of operating licenses by not following proper guidelines. For instance, an act prescribes that once there is an organisation

> operating in that route, you can't issue another license to a different organisation to use the same route. That is a main cause. *Another* main cause is that people are not arrested or convicted and that is caused by police or law enforcers from all levels. When I say all levels, I mean your municipal police, in Jo'burg we call them JMPD, SAPS, normal traffic officers, provincial and national they have vehicle. Some government officials who issue licenses have taxis therefore that contribute. There are cases that can be quoted when police sometimes say they have killed people. If police kills, so who is supposed to investigate the case and open the docket? If the police kills who is going to be arrested? The police can't arrest themselves. Those are the main causes (Chief Strategic Manager, SANTACO, Interview, 2 October 2018).

SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager suggests that the duplication of routes and bribes are the main cause of the problem of taxi violence. Ingrained in this analysis is also the problem of not following proper guidelines when issuing operating licenses, a challenge that is discussed in the following subsection on operating licenses. However, SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager seems to suggest for a case of free market and protection where a taxi operator basically "owns" a route (and is protected by the state from other competitors) and does not want new entrants to be allowed into this route. This might lead to the creation of oligopolies where there is no competition between the operating taxis. In explaining the causes of taxi violence, one taxi marshal from Wanderers taxi rank thinks that it is predominantly caused by poverty:

> Poverty causes violence, baba. I can simply just say that it is poverty, because I will not say that it is the greed of the taxi owners. I will say that it is poverty because you see when a person is full he doesn't make much noise. But once he experiences poverty and gets hungry he will cause a noise. This is exactly what is happening in the industry. A black person, I'll put it that way. The taxi rank industry is an industry that fell into the hands of black people. And since it has fallen into hands of black people, they do not have a strategy of controlling it so that it becomes the way it's supposed to be. Which means, as a matter of fact, the taxi industry is of such a nature, a person only cares about themselves and do not care about what the other person will eat. Once I eat I do not care about another person. Once I am full, me and my children, I don't care whether my neighbours have eaten. So that's why instead of going forward, it is moving backwards because at the end of the day there ends up being wars and people are killing each other, because the one that is already in doesn't want another person entering in. Once they are in, they want to be the only ones operating (Taxi Marshal 1 Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 2 November 2018).

What emerges from this statement is that those who control the industry care about themselves and not the people who work for them. The statement also suggests that those who are already in the industry do not want new entrants and thus refuse to share. It appears that privilege (keeping what each taxi operator has) is one of the main causes of the violence. Some operators

have a sense of privilege in certain routes, such that they display ownership and limit competition with others. Commenting on the issue of taxi violence, the NTA Spokesperson states that:

> Taxi violence is caused, 1, by the over saturation of routes. Some routes are being given to people who don't qualify or have not been working in those routes and end up being given operating license to work in those routes. As a result, they conflict with those who have been working in those routes. Another cause for taxi violence is new developments. What I have personally learnt is that there is no synergy between IDP and ITP. When developments are spoken of, there is no public transport that is being factored into a development of those specific areas, which is what you would have realised with the recent spate of violence. It is at places that have been developed. Then you would ask yourself why taxi operators in that close vicinity or proximity rather called in a meeting informing them of particular development in that particular area and notify them of potential passengers that would either be coming or residing in the space. So that transportation can be planned ahead of those developments and launched. That's one. Another issue for taxi violence is that some taxi operators are masquerading as operators where in essence someone else owns the fleet of taxis they are claiming to be operating. It could be a government official who owns the fleet of taxis or it could be somebody else not necessarily agreeing with resolutions taken at the meeting of taxi operators that would perhaps talk about changes in operations. Obviously, if those people are not in the meeting they will not agree with the majority of people. Factionally small, there is also question of jealousy where people are jealous of somebody's success. Another issue is the issue of leadership where everyone wants to be a leader even though they don't have leadership qualities. Another main cause is that people that are voted in executive of individual organisations do not have necessary qualifications. You would have a person voted and training officer who has never been trained or who is not trainable. You would have people elected as chairperson because they are gun slingers, or they can wield a stick or are masculine. Those are some of the causes of taxi violence (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview, 3 November 2018).

This subsection suggests that taxi violence is caused by the over-saturation of routes, with those with operating licenses and those without in stiff competition. There is also the challenge of executives within the industry, resulting in instances of leadership conflicts.

7.11.3 Obtaining Operating Licenses

Besides the lack of subsidies from government and the problem of taxi violence, the industry also faces challenges around obtaining operating licenses, with this leading to some taxi owners operating illegally. There are challenges where operating licenses are issued without proper consultations, as explained by a taxi owner from Noord taxi rank:

> With operating license let's start here, in the past, I am talking about the 90s (I don't want to say by the past regime) when these things were done manually. You would come, let me say you are replacing your vehicle, you would come at 8 o'clock, and depending on the queue you get your papers done, same day. Today, the same process and it's electronic. It takes years. Sometimes you wait until that vehicle is old, by the time you get the license it is left with two years to operate. That needs to be improved. I don't see a reason now when things are electronic why should the period be longer than when things were done manually. No licenses should be issued without proper consultation with associations and municipality to make sure that operation is not over traded or over flooded by new permits where there is no work for that vehicle. We don't need a queue of vehicles, we want vehicles to transport people and not to come and park as if they are in a showroom at a taxi rank (Taxi Owner 1, Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Therefore, the taxi owner states there should be proper consultations between taxi associations and the GPRE on the issue of operating licenses. In explaining the challenges with obtaining operating licenses, the spokesperson for the NTA states that 'not all our operators currently have operating licenses' (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview 2018). This is a case of precarity within the industry, with some operators operating illegally. However, there is the case that those operating legally are also located in a condition of precarity. Thus, precarious conditions of work in the industry start with the conditions or challenges leading to this precarity. Therefore, Standing was wrong to universalise the causes of precariousness. Along these lines, 'by disregarding longer the history of precarious work in the Global South, Standing and others daze themselves to significant exercises from and instances of against precarity labour politics among Southern specialists' (Scully 2016:161).

A taxi owner from Wanderers taxi rank further explains the challenges in obtaining operating licenses as follows:

> We find it quite laborious to make a simple application of an operating license. We find it strange that if we take our vehicles through for a roadworthy testing. We are given a roadworthy certificate once the vehicle had passed. Whether a vehicle pass or fail you do get a written response in that regard. Even when we go to pay for our discs, there is roadworthy certificate we get them over the counter. It is quite surprising that when we apply for operating licenses we are given a run around. Sometimes we are told the system is offline, and at times we are told to submit documentations, which we do and the documentation ends up expiring in the hands of the authorities only to be turned back when you come back to collect your operating licenses, you'd be told you still need to get document xyz which you have submitted, and by then those documents would have expired. For instance, a tax clearance certificate. It takes a lot of time to get tax clearance certificate from SARS. Once you get it, it would lie with authorities and 3 months down the line you

> would have to get a new one. There is also the attitude of licensing officers. There is this notion of missing page, where you have to pay a bribe even if you don't have to. Those are the challenges we face as an industry from time to time (Taxi Owner 1, Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 3 November 2018).

It appears from this that the process of applying for an operating license is quite a lengthy one. There are still taxi operators who do not own operating licenses. According to the Competition Commission, 'planning authorities lack capacity to implement integrated transport plans resulting PREs not getting directives timeously leading to backlogs and illegal operations' (2020:335). In most cases, planning and licensing authorities wait for routes to be developed by the minibus taxi industry, resulting in conflict between taxi associations. The issue of obtaining operating licenses is also important to qualify for the scrapping of old taxis, as explained in chapter 9. One taxi owner from Noord taxi rank states the following in relation to this challenge:

> Our problem, for most of us, is that we do have vehicles, but we do not have certificates. Even if I take this car there, they will require a certificate and I do not have a certificate. What must we do? The government told us that this type of vehicle can no longer obtain certificates. They did not do as you are now doing, to say that you have this much time guys. We are pleading that anyone who does not have an operating license to come, so that we can be able to scrap these cars because these cars can no longer work. The government just told us that these vehicles no longer work, which is vehicles which have these many years we can no longer receive them, what must we do then? (Taxi Owner 1, Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 3 October 2018).

What can be gleaned from this is that government does not issue operating licenses (certificates) to old taxis, hence such taxis do not qualify for scrapping under the TRP. Therefore, these challenges perpetuate the existence of precarity within the industry. In addition to the challenges discussed above, the minibus taxi industry is also facing the challenges of high taxi finance and insurance premiums. These make it difficult for the industry to compete effectively in the public transport sector. The high cost of finance is particularly made worse by lack of subsidies from the state, as discussed in the preceding subsections. Subsidies would assist the industry in avoiding the costs of taxi finance and is also important in ensuring support for black economic empowerment (BEE), especially considering that the industry was historically segregated. According to Edigheji, 'South Africa's historical legacy of racialised economic opportunity makes it imperative that BEE will remain an essentially non-negotiable aspect of ANC economic policy for at least a decade to come' (2010:197). However, the implementation of the BEE policy in relation to the industry has seen a context where the relationship between state and industry has become enmeshed in conflicts of interest.

The implementation of employment equity and BEE itself has made more equitable racialised patterns of ownership and wealth. BEE is widely viewed in comparison to White Monopoly Capital (WMC) which was concentrated during the latter phases of apartheid. WMC suggests that wealth, income and opportunity is still highly racialised and why the white minority continues to dominate in most productive parts of the economy, even under a black government (Southall 2017). However, viewing the economy in BEE and WMC broad terms is too simplistic, as reality is far more complex than this.

7.11.4 Costs of Taxi Finance

The minibus taxi industry is also battling with the challenge of paying high costs of taxis to SA Taxi Development Finance. SA Taxi Finance is a dominant 'financier to the minibus taxi industry followed by Toyota Financial Services' (Competition Commission 2020:240). The funding provided by SA Taxi Finance is mainly for Toyota Ses'fikile, Nissan Impendula and Mercedes Benz Printer, with 97% of its credit derived from the three brands. A small competitor to the SA Taxi Finance is the Bridge Taxi Finance which specialises mostly in Japanese and Chinese minibus taxis, such as Inyathi and Beijing Automotive Works (BAW), the least preferred brands by the taxi operators. The industry has cited quality concerns with Inyathi and BAW, complaining that the taxis are not in a good condition. When these brands are old, they put the lives of commuters at risk. SA Taxi Finance and Bridge Taxi Finance make use of developmental credit principles when assessing funding applications from the taxi operators. In contrast to this, banks (Standard bank, Nedbank, Wesbank, ABSA) do not offer developmental credit to minibus taxis. In terms of the National Credit Act (NCA), a developmental credit provider provides 'sustainable and accessible credit to historically disadvantaged, low-income persons and communities and to develop small businesses' (Competition Commission 2020:239). While SA Taxi Finance provides developmental credit to minibus taxis, some taxi operators regard it as charging high financing fees. Commenting on the issue of taxi finance, one taxi owner from Wanderers taxi rank states:

> Taxi finance is not right. It's not right. It has condemned a lot of people because it takes their vehicles away from them. A person cannot even miss one month's payment, and on the second one they are repossessing the vehicle. It has condemned a lot of people. It's a butchery in there my brother. You pay forever for your vehicle, and they the car instalment doesn't decrease. If you pay R12000, its R12000 forever. At first when we started working with these taxis, I am talking around 1992/3/4/5, you were paying an instalment of R5000 or R6000. As time goes it also goes down, so that over time you can pay about R2000. But with now

> you pay the same instalment forever, until you finish off this car. They take this car for you from SA Taxi and then you pay the deposit, so you've used the car already, and then after that (Taxi Owner 3, Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 3 November 2018).

It seems like government has a long way to go before successfully transforming the industry. Certainly, the possibility of the industry getting subsidies from government depends on the industry changing its business model, as argued by government officials. The costs of finance further put the industry in a difficult position, limiting its ability to compete effectively with other mods of public transport. It is important that SANTACO gained a 25% shareholding from SA Taxi, a significant subsidiary of Transaction Capital, for R1.7 billion in a historic transformational ownership transaction (Tech Financials 2019). This is after several engagements between SA Taxi and SANTACO throughout the years, for the industry to be formalised and take part in revenue streams. Through supporting the altogether black-owned industry, the SA Taxi partnership with SANTACO is an instance of BBBEE. While SA Taxi offers financial support to the taxi operators, it likewise rebuilds, exchanges, re-sells, insures and refinances pre-owned minibus taxis. SA Taxi insures more than 85% of its financed taxi operators.

It is obvious from the analysis above that the minibus taxi industry keeps on confronting various difficulties, which will keep the industry in an unstable condition if not tended to. Along these lines, while the Minister of Transport contended for a collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models when he declared the RTRP, there are as yet significant difficulties in bringing this to fruition. The existence of precariousness in the industry is exemplified by the difficulties examined in the preceding sections.

7.12 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the public transport system in Gauteng, discussing transport operations in the province, including the challenges faced by the industry, giving rise to its precarious nature. I also discussed the importance of regulation for the minibus taxi industry. While the Gauteng Department of Roads and Transport, Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity, and Gauteng Department of Labour are making means to transform and regulate the industry, there is resistance from most operators. The majority of operators continue to operate illegally, thus making it difficult for departments to regulate. While the industry is currently not subsidised, what is required to implement subsidies within the industry is an accounting system, though this

is not possible in the informal industry in which minibus taxis operates. The National Land Transport Transition Act speaks of the need for state subsidies to be directed at assisting marginalised users with respect to lowering the costs of public transport services. Within the industry, there is considerable tension between state efforts to regulate labour and resistance on the part of owners (and at times drivers) to inhibit this regulation and formalisation. While noting that government is making plans to transform the industry, a lot still needs to be done. The lack of state strategic intervention in the industry gives rise to the existence of precarity. Therefore, it is misplaced for Standing to universalise precarity. This condition has always been in existence in parts of the Global South, exemplified by the lack of state support to the minibus taxi industry, during apartheid and until now. The following chapter discusses the regulation of the industry by government. The industry remains situated within the informal sector (while the state introduced few forms of regulations since 1995), with some regulations such as labour regulations not enforced. This further gives rise to the existence of precarious conditions of work in the industry. Therefore, precarity in the industry does not only result from the operators themselves bypassing labour regulations, but also through the lack of strategic intervention by the state (through strategic selectivity). This is what I call precariousness from above.

CHAPTER 8:

Workers in Precarious Labour Conditions: Minibus Taxi Drivers and Taxi Marshals in Johannesburg, South Africa

8.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has shown that precarious labour conditions have resulted from a lack of strategic intervention in the industry by the state, as exemplified by the informal and unregulated nature of the industry. This corresponds with what Clarke (2006) calls 'regulated precariousness'. Therefore, we can state that precariousness in the industry starts with failed regulation by the state, with the added unwillingness of taxi owners to abide by labour regulations. Therefore, while state institutions have made attempts to formalise the industry, these have not been successful (Ingle 2009).

The argument of chapter 8 is that conditions within the minibus taxi industry place taxi drivers, taxi marshals and taxi owners in a condition of a precariat and that this condition has always existed. However, while measures have been taken to ensure that precariat minibus taxi workers are moved out of these working conditions, there has been an element of resistance from taxi operators/owners. This chapter speaks to the research question, which is: *what is understood about working conditions in the minibus taxi industry?* Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to engage with this question. As with research carried out by Hlatshwayo (2018), who examined the conditions of precarious workers in the public sector, this chapter also looks at working conditions, wages and employment relationships. In addition to responding to the question on what is understood about working conditions in the industry, this chapter responds to this research question: *how the recapitalisation of the taxi industry addressed the shortcomings of precarious, ineffective, dangerous and unreliable taxis?* In so doing, the chapter makes reference to the voices of commuters. In relation to employment relationships, my empirical findings ascertained that taxi drivers and taxi marshals face intimidation from their employers (taxi operators/owners). The work of Berrones-Sanz follows similar research to mine, in that he examined the working conditions of microbus drivers in Mexico City and noted that informal operators live in precarious conditions 'as they are not in receipt of the benefits and do not have a fixed salary or health insurance' (2014:188).

Taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals occupy their positions within the social system of the minibus taxi industry. Social status locates these individuals in the social structures of the industry. Within such social structures, workers find themselves in precarious labour conditions. State institutions (with the role of regulating the industry) organise social relationships in the industry and create patterns of social relations between taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. Social structures within the industry capture the collective identities that are exhibited by actors in the industry. The work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals takes place within precarious structures and leads to precarious social relations. Precarious labour conditions beg the following questions as defining the social structure: what holds the industry together? What keeps it steady? Through my research, I established that the industry is held together and kept steady by its social structures.

The term labour conditions in this thesis is considered as a collective agreement between taxi drivers, taxi marshals and their employers (taxi owners) that generally determine the hours of work, wages and working conditions. This is an organised set of social relationships in which members of the industry are variously implicated. As defined by Guy Standing (2011:10), workers in precarious labour conditions lack the following securities: "*labour market security"* (labour market participation); "*employment security"* (protection of workers from arbitrary loss of jobs, by collective agreements, regulation of convention); "*job security"* (protection of employees against loss of job-based rights); "*work security"* (good working conditions, health and safety protection); "*skill reproduction security"* (workers have access to skills acquisition); and *"representative security"* (workers must have a security capacity to bargain and a strong "voice" to ensure distributive justice in the workplace). As such, workers within the minibus taxi industry lack all these securities and are, therefore, situated in precarious conditions of work. However, it is important to note that, in contrast to Standing's view that this is a new condition which resulted from globalisation, the condition has always existed in the minibus taxi industry.

8.2 Working Conditions' Regulations in the Minibus Taxi Industry

In the preceding chapter 7, I indicated that social institutions do not only include relevant organisations or states; they also include rules and regulations of the state. Therefore, regulation of the minibus taxi industry is a form of social institution performed by the state. This institution is taken to govern collective and individual behaviour in the industry. The regulation of working conditions in the minibus taxi industry is key to ensuring that the DoL has a meaningful impact on

precarious conditions of work within the industry. The DoL does this through the enforcement of the Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector. In explaining the role of the DoL, a participant from the DoEL states:

> It has been found to be very difficult to regulate an industry that has been classified as very informal. Now we have a sectoral determination. Now, in all sectoral determination, as you are aware, it regulates that particular working condition. Now if you regulate the working conditions what are we specifically referring to? We regulate working hours, we regulate information concerning pay, we regulate safety of workers in each and every workplace, we regulate to say that there is a social benefit that we provide for workers and they need to be entitled. Entitlements like your UIF, and in terms of safety your compensations. What does it all require? It requires an employer to comply. In all ideal situations where is it that we assess compliance? We go and knock at the door of the office and say as a department we are here. Can we perhaps please see if we can assess compliance in terms of our labour laws? We then request, can you please give us the number of workers that you have in the workplace. We then request contracts of workers of those employees in the workplace. We then request an attendance register. We then request payslips (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 2 August 2018).

While it is difficult to regulate the minibus taxi industry due to its informal nature, there is a Sectoral Determination regulating working conditions in the industry. However – as explained in chapter 8 below, most of the taxi operators do not comply with the regulations from the DoEL, partly due to the informal nature of the industry. The representative from the DoEL also states that translating compliance with the Sectoral Determinations for the taxi sector, as part of the regulation, continues to be a challenge for the department:

> You have a contract of employment that regulates this is what we have agreed upon me and the employee. We have agreed in terms that these are the number of working hours that you are going to work. We have agreed that this is a salary you are going to get. This is an outline of your responsibilities, your job functions of what you are going to do. And then from there we compare with the attendance register if it adheres in terms of the working hours. We then take that and then you translate into a payslip an employee is supposed to be receiving. You then can conclude from that aspect of registration that the employer has complied. The worker is registered for UIF. The worker is registered for compensation and therefore you conclude after in terms of taking a walk that the workplace has complied (Representative from the Department of Labour, Interview, 2 August 2018).

Therefore, regulation by the DoEL requires that the industry have contracts of employment for its' employees, including complying with the hours stipulated in the Sectoral Determination. It has historically, at least since 1994, been complicated for the DoL to enforce labour regulations

because of the nature of the industry, and thus giving rise to precarious labour conditions, as discussed in chapter 8 below. Therefore, while there is a lack of strategic intervention by the state in the industry, as introduced in chapters 7 and 8, the nature of the industry complicates its full regulation by the state.

8.3 Recurrent Precariousness within the Minibus Taxi Industry

Within the social structure of the minibus taxi industry, precariousness occurs. In other words, taxi drivers and taxi marshals perform their roles in precarious conditions. Social structure constitutes recurrent, stabilised and orderly relationships (Chan 2019). The industry has recurrent precariousness. Taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals engage in types of behaviour which are recurrent. A social structure consists of norms, status and roles which are manifested in the behaviour of taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals functioning with the industry. Therefore, precariousness in the industry (though historical in context and also related to the ANC's government's neoliberal economic choices) comes about through the actions of taxi owners, the roles of taxi drivers and taxi marshals, and the social interaction between all the actors in the industry. The industry continually responds to the adaptive needs of society, because through its activities, the economy is grown. But, if the industry is to survive and continue contributing to economic growth, it must be internally integrative and externally adaptive.

Most participants in the minibus taxi industry are full-time, some are self-employed, with the former being mostly taxi drivers and taxi marshals, and the latter taxi owners. None of the participants possessed a contract of employment. In addition, the monthly income for all taxi drivers was less than R5000; and for taxi marshals, it was mostly between R5000 and R10 000. For taxi owners, the monthly income was between R5000 and R10 000 or more. However, while the demographic questionnaires revealed this information about participants, it is important to note that some participants were not comfortable in talking about their income, as discussed in the finding chapters. Taxi drivers mentioned that they are paid approximately R500 on a weekly basis but noted that this amount fluctuates every week depending on the taxi fares they generate.

Precarious work in the minibus taxi industry can be noted through a lack of "work security", that is lack of good working conditions, health and safety protection. Workers are also subjected to insecure working relations. The work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals signifies the hidden forms of work that are not tracked by government. These are employers concentrated in the same

location, the taxi ranks, and precarious locations. For example, one taxi driver from Noord taxi rank (known as the MTN taxi rank) states:

> The taxi rank is in a suitable place. The only problem is the space to work in that is not there. You'll find that in this rank there is no space to get out, the road is filled with cars and there is little parking space (Taxi Driver 2 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Therefore, while some taxi drivers view the Noord taxi rank as being in a suitable location, they complain about the unavailability of space in the rank. The unsuitability of taxi ranks for taxi operators and drivers speaks to the existence of precariousness in South Africa. It also means that precariousness is not only defined by a lack of labour rights, as Guy Standing (2011) suggests, but also by poor working conditions. In relation to the challenges of space in taxi ranks, another taxi driver from the same rank notes:

> The MTN is not alright. The problem is that this hole here is killing us very much as the taxi drivers. First of all, it stinks here at this hole and it is not clean. The smell sits very painfully in the chest. So another thing that we are up against as the taxi drivers is the fact that we are facing many challenges here. The taxi industry is a big company but it does not have people who are managing it in the proper way. One, we as the taxi drivers do not have benefits. Two, we as the taxi drivers do not have permanent jobs. Three, we are fired like dogs. You work here for about 10 years and then they fire you like dogs. Unfair dismissal! Yes, those are the challenges that we have. So our complaint is that the government can make us registered and work according to law, so that we can be able to have benefits. So that we can have retirement funds and pension funds like a person who works in companies. This is a company. It's just that we do not have people who manage it. They do not operate it properly. That's our challenge (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

The Noord taxi rank is considered to be in poor working condition. This implies that taxi drivers are confronted with harsh working conditions. Corresponding with this argument, Sanchez et al, while studying the quality of life and work ability of taxi drivers from Brazil, argue that 'urban transport drivers, specifically taxi and motorcycle taxi drivers, are exposed to particular environmental, societal, and health situations related to their occupation' (2019:1). In the same way, minibus taxi drivers in South Africa are vulnerable to the precarious conditions of work found at taxi ranks. My findings for this thesis expose that minibus taxi drivers work in precarious conditions of work and do not have work security. This is similar to the context of taxi motorcycle taxi drivers in Brazil who have 'job insecurity and lack of social security' (Sanchez et al. 2019:2). It is also clear that taxi drivers complain about not having employment benefits. The argument is

that they would have these benefits if the industry was well managed. The non-existence of employment contracts in the industry is explained by the same taxi driver, who states that:

> You don't have a contract; you have no payslip. Even if you can go to the furniture shop to go and make an instalment for a bed, they will ask for a payslip, a bank statement, and those are things that we do not have (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

In addition to not having formal contracts of employment and payslips, which makes it difficult for them to apply for credit, taxi drivers are not members of trade unions. For example, the same taxi driver states: '"No. I am just person. We don't have unions here in the taxis, that's why we are fired like dogs"' (Taxi Driver 3 Noord Taxi Rank, Interview 2018). Therefore, taxi drivers are in a precarious condition as they lack representative security and employment security: a point that is explained by the non-existence of unions in the taxi ranks and the fear of being fired. It seems that the work of taxi drivers is uncertain and unpredictable. In addition to these precarious conditions, most taxi drivers complain that they work long hours. For example, one taxi driver from Wanderers taxi rank states:

> The working hours are too many. Because I can say I wake up at four. Leaving the rank depends. Maybe at five I've queued for the last trip, and then I leave at seven. They are too much (Taxi Driver 1 Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

These working hours appear to be longer those stipulated in the Sectoral Determination for the taxi sector. As Mmadi (2012) suggests in examining the conditions of workers within the minibus taxi industry, the section above reveals the precariousness of these conditions. Commenting on the role of the minibus taxi industry and employment conditions, one taxi marshal from Wanderers taxi rank states:

> The role of the industry for me is not working, actually, the way that it's supposed to work, it contributes nothing and we also do not receive anything because the conditions that we work under are unfavourable conditions that cause us not to go forward. We do not grow and we are going nowhere. Instead of us going forward we are regressing backwards (Taxi Marshal 2 Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

In other words, the industry does not play an important role in the lives of taxi marshals, especially because they work in precarious conditions, where employees do not grow. This corresponds to Hlatshwayo's (2018:385) findings that community health workers (CHW) are subjected to low pay

and no benefits. Also, Clarke revealed that forms of work in the service sectors 'are generally insecure, low paying and poorly protected by labour legislation, social welfare and collective bargaining' (2006:39). Similar to this, another taxi marshal from Wanderers taxi ranks notes:

> Here, the work, some days it treats us well and some days it treats us very badly. But then other time it finishes us off with respect. There are some who come from their own homes with their own problems, with the people they live with, or in their workplace, and then those people come and unload they fatigue on you. And then you find yourself in trouble in the taxis because you end up responding to them badly. There are no queue marshals that are made raw, they do respect. It's just that we don't respect each other when we are at that taxi rank. We don't respect each other in any way. When a passenger comes with a parcel and I tell her no when you have a parcel you pay this much mama, because when this thing of yours gets lost, you will return back to me wanting help, asking, and demanding your parcel. This is why then the minister of transport gave us that instruction that they must pay money for the couriering of their parcels. But the work that we do at the rank is very distressing, very much. And I don't know how we will transform because what I see is that a person undermines you, and then they forget that we are feeding our families by being these queue marshals (Taxi Marshal 2 Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

Therefore, while taxi marshals are on the whole satisfied with their work, they find their work distressing most of the time, meaning that employees are not challenged to grow in their jobs. Similarly, research by Hlatshwayo on community health workers (CHWs) considered their work to be distressing and 'involved in a struggle seeing to change their working conditions into some form of direct employment by the state' (2018:386). The difference with minibus taxi industry workers is that they continue to face intimidation from their employers (taxi owners/operators). The situation at the taxi ranks is such that some people do not treat each other with respect. While all the taxi drivers and taxi marshals view the taxi ranks as not situated in a good location, some taxi owners do not have a problem with the locations of the taxi ranks and, therefore, the working conditions are good according to the owners. This is understandable because some/most of the taxi owners do not spend their time in taxi ranks. One taxi owner from the Wanderers taxi rank states:

> Yes, I can say that it is situated in a good place, because it is a station. We are in the station here. So yes it is in a right place. And this is also the destination place of the train. No matter where it comes from, this will be its final destination (Taxi Owner 1 Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

According to the taxi owners, because the taxi rank is close to Johannesburg Park Station, it is in a good place. Commenting on the issue of minibus taxi industry's working conditions, a taxi marshal from Noord taxi rank notes:

> Where a working condition is not good you will find that the owners themselves don't care or have an I don't care attitude. You will find the owner not knowing the name of his driver or the driver not knowing the owner because some other driver said I will bring the driver tomorrow, or the other driver just takes the keys and gives them to his friend. This is why when there is a collision or accident, some drivers run away because you will find out that they don't even have a driver's license and the owner didn't know (Taxi Marshal 1, Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

It appears then that poor working conditions exist where the taxi owner does not know his or her taxi drivers, such that there is no sound employment relationship. In actual fact, these conditions in the industry have always been existence, as revealed in the literature (Mahlangu 2002). As such, precariousness in the minibus taxi industry is not a totally new condition. A taxi owner from the Wanderers taxi rank explains the poor conditions in the taxi ranks as follows:

> There's a lot of thugs here. It's those that smoke Nyaope, and they rob people. And if you hit them they arrest you (Taxi Owner 2, Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

In other words, these are conditions that make it precarious to work in the taxi ranks, with some people getting robbed. In this context, taxi drivers, taxi marshals and informal traders experience precarity in the taxi ranks, a sense that is deeply embedded in South Africa's history of marginalisation and inequality. Like Deshingkar (2018:5), who examined the conditions of precarity among migrant workers, this thesis considers precarity as created by workplace dynamics in the taxi ranks. The precarious conditions in the taxi ranks make working there risky and uncertain. These conditions are what Giddens (1991) called 'ontological insecurity', with taxi drivers and taxi marshals defined by a precarious existence or insecure work relationships.

In addition to this, the industry faces challenges related to the pressure from passengers, as one taxi owner from Faraday taxi rank states:

> There is the rush hour in the morning and people want to get to work on time. It then pushes you to drive on the yellow line even though you know that it's not allowed. Then you find that when you go back to the road, you are not doing back right but you are now forcing. In this situation it can be very easy for an accident to occur. Sometimes you'll find that the traffic lights say amber and you've been following behind a car, and it so happens to hit the brakes, there is no way that you can move to the side (Taxi Owner 1, Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 September 2018).

Therefore, like Sanchez et al, who examined the quality of life and work ability of taxi and motorcycle taxi drivers in Brazil and discovered that workers work in contexts where they are

exposed to ‘adverse conditions in order to increase productivity and profitability’ (2019:2), my findings reveal that taxi drivers work in conditions where they have the pressure of picking up as many passengers as possible in order to generate revenue. These working conditions, Sanchez et al argue, may result in a number of injuries that can generate occupational stress among employees. Moreover, while some taxi owners do consider conditions to be as bad as taxi drivers and taxi marshals, the condition of precariousness is very serious in the minibus taxi industry. This is exemplified by one taxi driver from Bree taxi rank, who states that:

> The condition of the rank is not good, because when it rains, it gets flooded at the taxi rank, and then people are unable to board the taxis and go to the taxi rank. When these cars unload the other taxis cannot get out because there is only one entrance. The other one is that there are no cameras here. When a fight breaks out here, the people at the offices come and ask us what happened (Taxi Driver 2, Bree Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 August 2018).

The taxi driver’s comments reveal the poor working conditions at Bree taxi rank and the lack of security cameras. This further perpetuates precarious existence within the industry. These conditions expose the myriad forms of precarious employment which have historically shaped the life of black workers, albeit now under a black government (Kalleberg and Vallas 2018). This means that some black people (exemplified by taxi drivers and taxi marshals) continue experiencing precarious conditions of work under a post-apartheid government. The precarious conditions of work in the industry are also explained by a taxi marshal from Bree taxi rank, who states that:

> Working conditions in the industry are actually not desirable. There’s a lot of exploitation that is taking part in this space. If you look at drivers, they don’t have serious benefits like your normal public service employee or private sector employee. And they don’t have much of protection of the law. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act is not actually covering them. Most of the labour relations legislation is not covering them, you know. They are so prejudiced, to an extent that I can work for you today and the following you can kick me out and get somebody else, so there is no stability, there is no work in the industry. There is no protection and it’s not an ideal situation (Taxi Marshal 1, Bree taxi Rank, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, it appears that there is much exploitation in the minibus taxi industry, with labour legislation not being complied with and some taxi drivers facing intimidation from taxi owners for participating in union representation. One taxi driver from Wanderers taxi rank states:

> Being a taxi driver is good, but sometimes with what happens at the taxi ranks, especially when the taxi owners fight, it is not right (Wanderers Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 1 November 2018).

This condition further perpetuates the existence of precarity in the taxi ranks, with taxi drivers feeling precarious to work when their employers fight. The literature has revealed that this is mostly fights over routes and due to leadership problems in taxi ranks (Ingle 2009). While various authors on precarity, including Standing (2011), Kalleberg and Vallas (2018) and Wright (2016) regard this as having grown in recent years, with significant changes in employment relations, precarity in the minibus taxi industry has existed historically in the industry, especially in the context where labour regulations have never been enforced (Browning 2006).

The recurrent precariousness within the minibus taxi industry, in addition to being a daily condition for taxi drivers and taxi marshals, is also experienced by commuters who consider most of the taxis precarious to travel in. In research on the taxi industry, Sauti (2006:ii) 'investigated whether or not all minibus taxi drivers' behave in the same way and whether they should be referred to as born of the same mother. The majority of commuters prefer minibus taxis due to their accessibility and convenience. While explaining the role of the minibus taxi industry, one of the interviewed commuters explains:

> The main purpose is to transport passengers from point A to their desired destination, be it work or function. In doing that, there has to be a quality service. Passengers have to be treated with respect. Taxis are easily accessible in townships more than trains and buses. The main objective of their role is to transport passenger (Commuter 1, Interview, 1 August 2018).

The role of minibus taxis is understood as that of transporting commuters, and therefore, it is important they be treated with respect. Most commuters are of the view that the majority of people use minibus taxis over buses mainly because taxis fetch commuters from their townships. This is supported by the Criterion report on public perceptions of taxi use, safety and crime by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR), which reported that 71% of people used minibus taxis in Gauteng. According to the report, 64% of commuters make use of minibus taxis (South African Institute of Race Relations 2018). As the following subsection reveals, commuters are mostly dissatisfied with the way taxi drivers drive. Sauti's research confirmed this point, arguing that commuters 'complained the majority of taxi drivers drive extremely rough and stated that most of the times with certain drivers, one is not certain if one will reach one's destination alive' (2006:32).

Some commuters highlight their dissatisfaction with using minibus taxis, given the poor condition of vehicles and taxi violence. Seemingly, the precariousness of conditions in the industry places commuters in a dilemma; to use or not to use precarious minibus taxis. In addition to this is the dilemma whether to use the formalised public transport system (buses and trains) or the informal minibus taxi industry (Nipha 2016). In relation to the dissatisfaction with using minibus taxis, one of the interviewed commuters' states:

> When we are at queues they count us like we are bags of potatoes, forgetting that we also have rights. If you voice out your dissatisfaction about a certain issue, like saying you won't get in an un-roadworthy taxi. Queue marshals change the story on drivers, and you end up being isolated and told you will not take a taxi there. It's only different when more people are saying the same thing, saying they are not getting into a taxi. Then the driver will see that the queue marshal was wrong. If you are an individual, they can even beat you. Not only them fighting amongst themselves, they are also fighting with commuters and some commuters retaliate. Taxi drivers are making most people angry. In many people they are making angry, some of them do come back and fight back. When that happens, they don't say it's the passenger that was provoked by the driver. They will blame it on taxi violence (Commuter 2, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Commuters do not feel safe using minibus taxis. It is important to note that the satisfaction of minibus taxi users depends on the condition of taxis, including the driving behaviour of taxi drivers.

8.4 Representation of Taxi Drivers and Taxi Marshals

Taxi drivers and taxi marshals struggle with the challenge of being represented in order to benefit from labour security (Mahlangu 2002). This starts with the case of intimidation from taxi owners with regards to SATAWU recruiting members from the taxi ranks. Taxi drivers and taxi marshals experience precarity due to a lack of representation, for example, from SATAWU. Standing (2011) regards representation security as 'possessing a collective voice in the labour market through, for example, independent trade unions, with a right to strike' (2011:10).

While Standing (2011) considers stable workers with more secure employment relationships more inclined to take on their employers through strike action, I argue that precarious workers in other parts of the Global South have historically been involved in protests against their employers (Sekhonyane 2016). Taxi drivers have gone on strike over the impounding of taxis, lifting of traffic fines, but not precarious conditions of work (Sekhonyane 2016). Therefore, their strikes have been mostly directed at the state rather than their employers. This is due to the lack of collective

action. According to Matebesi (2018), for collective action to take place, four conditions must be met. He states that:

> These conditions are discontent (prevalent dissatisfaction without relief), ideology (collective identification of complaints as being morally legitimate by the aggrieved), ability to organize (core leaders of the aggrieved group are capable of recruiting, sourcing resources, and communicating strategies), and political opportunity (the extent to which civil liberties allow freedom of speech and association) (2018:171).

Therefore, while taxi drivers and taxi marshals are dissatisfied with their working conditions, and have collective identification of this, they hardly organise a strike against their precarious conditions of work. The leaders of SATAWU are not capable of recruiting members in the taxi ranks. Their failure to recruit taxi drivers and taxi marshals (they say) is due to the intimidation that recruited members face from their employers.

While Standing argues that without representation security and 'other forms of security employees have no skill security, since they fear being shifted around, instructed to do tasks outside their personal plans or aspirations' (2011:11), taxi drivers and taxi marshals in other parts of the Global South and in Johannesburg, do possess skills security. For example, taxi marshals have a skill security of managing taxi ranks and, therefore are never shifted around. There are taxi drivers who have been driving taxis since the 1990s and have mastered that skill. While taxi drivers possess this skill, their employment relationships are defined by precariousness in the context of intimidation from their employers (taxi owners/operators). The issue of intimidation from taxi owners is explained by the Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator from SATAWU, who states the difficulty of organising employees in the taxi ranks is due to intimidation from taxi owners. For example, the Gauteng Taxi Coordinator states:

> Intimidation and again that recognition when coming be recognised… because some of them you'll recruit them and then they will tell [you] don't inform my boss that I belong to a trade union. Reason being, remember when I recruit here after recruiting here, I must establish a structure, a workshop steward to represent the workers in this workplace because we are operating in this fashion. You must recruit from workplace (Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator SATAWU, Interview, 2 November 2018).

This problem of intimidation is particularly bad at the Noord and Faraday taxi ranks. He goes on to say:

> Noord is very troublesome. We can't break the barrier… the only shop steward we are having is down there, in Bree. We do have a shop steward in Bree. And then we do have a shop steward in Bara. Noord, and also in Faraday, there is a big intimidation. We do have members, but the intimidation (Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator SATAWU, Interview, 2 November 2018).

Therefore, taxi marshals and taxi drivers lack representation security, as revealed in these research findings. It appears that as long as workers within the minibus taxi industry are intimidated against exercising their labour rights, they will remain in the state of a precariat. They are trapped in a condition that they find hard to change. It is as though they are trapped in the chains of the precariat, with no possibility of getting out, unless the employer is willing to participate. This precariousness is an 'ontological state of life' (Deshingkar 2018:3) for taxi drivers and taxi marshals. This is an inherent part of life, where they experience precarity on a daily basis. The problem of intimidation in the taxi ranks is due to the uncontested power of the taxi owners. This uncontested power contributes to the rise of the precariat, as the DoL is unable to enforce labour regulations. However, while taxi drivers and taxi marshals face intimidation from taxi owners (as argued by the Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator), it appears to me that SATAWU also fails recruiting members due to their failed unionism. As the largest trade union for transport workers in South Africa, it is not good that SATAWU is failing to recruit members from the minibus taxi industry which remains the largest employer in the public transport sector.

In the context of intimidation of minibus taxi industry employees and failure of SATAWU, we find a dynamic of variable exclusion. Von Holdt and Webster (2005:19) argue that

> workers are economically included in the sense that they are employed and earn wages within the core economy, but at the same time are excluded to varying degrees from the rights that are conferred on them by labour legislation and even by the South African Constitution – trade union rights, basic conditions of employment, employment equity, skills development, and health and safety regulations.

The taxi operators/owners exclude their employees from the benefits of labour rights, denying them the right to be represented by trade unions, in the name of increasing competitiveness and reducing costs.

The empirical research found that some of the taxi operators are represented by the NTA and some by SANTACO, as explained in the following section. Therefore, SATAWU has to deal with

members who are affiliated with one of the two. SATAWU has argued that those who affiliate with the NTA are very reluctant to participate when recruited.

8.5 Representation of Taxi Owners/Operators

While explaining the number of members affiliated to the NTA, its' spokesperson notes the following, that it is not clear how many members the NTA represents:

> It is quite challenging to give you a round figure of the number of members that we have in a country but safe to say that we control over 70% of taxi industry throughout the country. We have representatives throughout 8 provinces except Western Cape. In each and every province we operate in we have a sizeable number of operators. Johannesburg or Gauteng being the pulse of countries heartbeat we control most of the associations in this province (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview, 2 November 2018).

This condition seems like an estimate and not a definite number of the members being represented by the NTA. There is, therefore, a need for the alliance to conduct research to determine the actual number of members it represents. The alliance will also need to collaborate with SATAWU to make sure members benefit from the security of representation without intimidation from taxi owners.

SANTACO also plays a role in representing members of the minibus taxi industry, as explained by SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager:

> We are a national structure. Across the country we represent approximately 160 000 members who represent approximately 268 000 vehicles in the country. The number is not equal because if you have 160 000 members you will not have 160 000 vehicles because others have 1 and others have 3. Some have their vehicles repossessed and some don't have, this is why you see the difference in numbers (Chief Strategic Manager, SANTACO, Interview 2018).

SANTACO's Chief Strategic Manager also explains that they have a good relationship with their members, but there are instances where some do not agree with decisions taken. For example, he states:

> Yes, we do have a working relationship for instance if you call a meeting, members will happily come. Members are like your children at home, not all of them will like you the same. When you call some to order they feel like you don't love them. You can't expect them to love you the same. There are those who complain, who understand when they are disciplined and there are those who don't understand

> when they are being disciplined, otherwise we have a good working relationship (Chief Strategic Manager, SANTACO, Interview, 1 October 2018).

From the comments above, we can surmise that SANTACO does have a good relationship with its members. Just like the NTA, it would be good for SANTACO to form a relationship with SATAWU to ensure that there is representation security in the industry. This is also important in the context where the industry does not comply with labour regulations, as enforced by the DoEL. Non-compliance with labour regulations has always characterised the industry, which has historically struggled to be recognised since the apartheid years (Matebesi 2018). While there are presently a number of taxi associations, by 1989, the apartheid government recognised only one taxi body, namely the South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA) (Browning 2018).

8.6 Non-compliance with the Department of Employment and Labour

The condition of non-compliance of labour regulations within the minibus taxi industry appears to be a refusal to abide by the Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector (Mahlangu 2002). The industry does not comply with the regulations of institutions such as the DoEL. Non-compliance with these labour regulations, enforced by the DoEL, is definitive of the industry, as the participant from the DoEL states:

> The issue is the sector is not complying and they are supposed to be complying. The problem for us is how we effectively influence an employer and an employee to comply. The influence becomes focused on advocacy and the benefits that the employee needs to know that this is the benefits when the workplace is complying and that's what we are trying to get through. I cannot tell you, no the industry has very good stories to tell. The point is, if an employer has not registered, for example, an employee for UIF then there is no good story to tell because immediately when that person becomes unemployed he does not have any social protection. For us it becomes an issue because the workers in that sector are vulnerable. It comes to that point and that is why currently we are prioritising and putting this particular sector under problematic sector (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 1 August 2018).

The fact that the minibus taxi industry does not comply with labour regulations makes it difficult for labour inspectors to exercise their role. Taxi drivers remain excluded from employment-linked benefits such as the UIF, which makes it difficult for them to benefit during difficult times such as COVID-19 and unemployment. The South African's government decision to use the UIF to lessen the effect of coronavirus on the working class, which excludes informal workers such as taxi drivers and taxi marshals, reveals strategic selectivity. This perpetuates the condition of precarity

in the industry, with employees not enjoying employment and work security, as defined by Standing (2011). In other words, they are not protected against dismissal or long working hours. It is as though taxi owners are saying: 'No! No to regulations by the state'. This refusal to be regulated by the state or to allow for state intervention has always characterised the industry since democracy, and following recommendations by the NTTT in 1995 that the industry be formalised and regulated (Browning 2006). Explaining the issue of non-compliance further, the participant from the DoEL notes:

> If you pick up non-compliance, let me make an example of wage. If you pick up a non-compliance relating to wages. As an employer I would have to get to you and say I am here to conduct an inspection and ask you where the contracts are and where are the payslips of this employee? From there I detect, that is proactively, that the employer doesn't pay wages for employee 1,2,3,4. Therefore you would then secure undertaking or compliance order depending on the situation. From there take that to, if the employer refuses to comply, take that to the labour court. Labour court grants you a court order for example (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 1 August 2018).

The issue of compliance is, therefore, critical and is important in improving working conditions within the minibus taxi industry. Since deregulation of the industry in 1987, any attempts by the state to re-regulate the industry have been challenged. The industry feels that the state is out to control their industry (Browning, 2006). It is in this context that taxi owners fail to comply with labour regulations. With the taxi owners going against these regulations, they are reinforcing a state of self-regulation and precariousness. Self-regulation in the industry is exemplified by taxi owners' maximum control of their minibus taxis. Therefore, this self-regulation is characterised by the taxi owners' high degree of autonomy from the state, such that the state does not occupy a sovereign position over the industry, but still influences the networks in the form of regulating entry to the industry, issuing of operating licenses and route allocation.

The DoEL has historically noted that taxi owners should start by complying with the payment of salaries (Mahlangu, 2002). It is important that the relationship between DoEL and SATAWU be strengthened in order to play a meaningful role in the current precarious conditions in the industry. Commenting on the relationship between DoEL and SATAWU in enforcing labour regulations, the participant from DoEL states the following:

> Look, the engagement will be there. The issue is we have 25 offices in Gauteng. So you will have different dynamics from different offices, you understand? I am in a provincial office. You would have Germiston for example, would have those engagements with the branch that is there in the taxi industry. You would have,

> different, maybe Pretoria office that would have those engagements in different areas with the unions, but look, unions form a critical part of us. We collaborate with them. Even when we are supposed to go out and conduct those inspections. You need to have a union rep that is part of inspection process at times. The only thing that we do frequently is blitzes, where we will go to taxi ranks and give out pamphlets, taxi industry, speak to the workers, get who is the employer, get the information, ask them if they are getting paid, ask them if they are informed about their rights, ask them to come forward when anything is contravened to come to the office, we have 26 offices, lay your complaints in these offices (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 1 August 2018).

This subsection explains that there is currently engagement and collaboration between the DoEL and SATAWU. It is equally important that the DoT and GDoRT also be part of this relationship in order to improve working conditions and change the precarious nature of the industry. The role of the DoT is visible through the TRP and its impact on precarious conditions of work, as discussed in chapter 9.

In studying precarious labour conditions within the minibus taxi industry, this thesis has revealed a misconception implicit in the literature on labour: 'that only legally recognised, unionised workers have the organisational capacity to engage in collective action to make material claims' (Mosoetsa et al. 2018:2). The act of keeping "isokisi"[16] (albeit silent action) by the taxi drivers is a case in point; that unorganised workers have a capacity to make material claims. What happens in the context of isokisi is that if a taxi driver reaches R1000 with a full-tank, whatever he makes extra is his. He keeps it in his socks so that the taxi owner won't recognise it. The only challenge is that they hardly engage in collective action such as strikes. While employees in the industry are not represented by SATAWU as much as they should, for fear of intimidation from employers, this reveals invisible forms of exploitation among them. It is important to note that the precarity of taxi drivers and taxi marshals could be defined as a *continuum*, defined by four characteristics: 'the degree of continuing of employment, control over the labour process (while decentralised), degree of regulatory protection (through unions or laws), and income level' (Mosoetsa et al. 2018:2).

8.7 Conclusion

[16] 'The money is called isokisi because drivers use to hide the money in their socks so that if the owner checks on them, he won't think about searching their socks' Accessed 05 December 2020, https://highwaymail.co.za/297906/taxi-driver-gives-a-glimpse-of-his-world/

This chapter discussed precariousness within the minibus taxi industry. This ranges from taxis ranks being in poor condition to taxi drivers and taxi marshals being intimidated by taxi owners against being recruited by the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU). There is a need for an improved relationship between the DoL and SATAWU. Taxi owners are actively reinforcing precarity through refusing representation security for taxi drivers and taxi marshals, and also subjecting them to intimidation. Thus, while these employees are dissatisfied with their working conditions and collectively identify them, they do not have the ability to organise, that is, SATAWU leaders are not capable of recruiting taxi drivers and taxi marshals. In the context of increasing precarious conditions of work defined by the interviewees from the taxi ranks and key informants, the following chapter 9 discusses the impact of the TRP on these conditions.

CHAPTER 9:

The Taxi Recapitalisation Programme's Impact on Precarious Conditions of Work

9.1 Introduction

While research has been conducted on the impact of the TRP within the minibus taxi industry, for example, research conducted by Baloyi (2012), it remains unclear what the impact of the programme has been on precarious conditions of work. Precarious conditions of work, as defined by Guy Standing, with his theory on precarity, the theoretical framework for this thesis, and discussed in chapter 8 as precarious labour conditions within the minibus taxi industry. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the empirical findings on the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry.

The argument of this chapter is that the TRP has not yet had a meaningful impact on precarious conditions of work. This is illustrated by the fact that many taxis are still in a very unsatisfactory condition, because they have not benefited from the programme which scrapped old taxis or through skills development. The chapter speaks to the main research question, which is: *What is the impact of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP) on precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg?* In other words, this chapter speaks to this question: *Has the TRP improved working conditions of taxi drivers and other employees in the industry or deepened precariousness?* In engaging with the findings on this research question, this thesis also discusses recommendations on improving the TRP so that it can have a meaningful impact.

Extensive research has shown that, with the transition from apartheid to democracy and the need to bring the minibus under some form of regulation, the democratic government introduced the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP). However, while the TRP was introduced, it is not clear if it has served its initial purpose, with many taxi operators complaining about its implementation.

9.2 Dilemmas of the Minibus Taxi Industry Transformation: Scrapping of Old Taxi Vehicles (OTVs)

Since democracy, government has taken measures to transform the minibus taxi industry, through the introduction of the TRP. This has been done through the scrapping of old taxis, so that operators would deposit a new taxi with a scrapping allowance. The scrapping allowance was

implemented to improve mobility and address apartheid injustices (Browning 2018). In the 2016/17 financial year, the allowance for scrapping was R82,400 and is adjusted each year to account for inflation (Consumer Price Index – CPI) (van Ryneveld 2018a). In his announcement of the RTRP, the Minister of Transport mentioned that as part of the state's commitment 'to support the taxi industry, government has decided to increase the taxi scrapping allowance from R91 100 to R124 000 per scrapped old taxi' (South African Government News Agency 2019).

However, the transformation of the minibus taxi industry through the scrapping allowance is moving very slowly, as depicted in Table 10.1 below, with a total of seventy-two thousand six hundred and ninety (72,690) old taxi vehicles (OTVs) scrapped by the end of September 2018, since 2006. The TRP had a target of scrapping 100,000 (One hundred thousand) OTVs and this was later adjusted to 135,894 (one hundred thirty-five thousand, eight-hundred and ninety-four) in 2007. Therefore, there is a balance of 63,241 (sixty-three thousand two hundred and forty-one) OTVs still to be scrapped. However, with the challenges facing the industry, as discussed in the preceding chapter, it is important to note that there are many taxi operators with no operating licenses, one of the requirements for scrapping. There are still, therefore, many operators that are left out of state intervention initiatives in the industry.

Transformation of the minibus taxi industry requires willingness from the state in order for a successful transformation process. This transformation must be continually reflexive, what Evans (in Edigheji 2010:37) calls a 'learning by doing process'. For Edigheji and other contributors in his book, 'there is sufficient political will' (Burger 2014:14) for a developmental state to be constructed in order to address the development challenges in the country. However, as Thandiwe Mkandawire explains in his chapter, 'From maladjusted states to democratic developmental states in Africa… today Africa has much better human resources than at independence' (Edigheji 2010:77) and these could be attracted into government: the poor implementation of the TRP suggests otherwise. Therefore, the slow pace of transformation of the minibus taxi industry is delaying the country in successfully constructing a developmental state. In explaining the delays on the part of the state in transforming the industry, one of the taxi drivers from Bree taxi rank notes:

> Ahmm…mfethu!! (brother), government is really failing the industry. The country is now 25 years since democracy and nothing has been done to successfully bring about change in the industry (Taxi Driver 1, Bree Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 August 2018).

We can therefore conclude that while South Africa has claimed to be a developmental state since democracy, it has failed to actively be involved in the minibus taxi industry in order to promote and sustain the economic development of the industry. Thus, while some of the operators with OTVs have benefited from the TRP through the scrapping process, most of them have not. A taxi driver from Bree taxi rank explains the inability to benefit from the scrapping process as follows:

> A problem is that the scrapping process did not take into consideration a vehicle bought in 2007 to be scrapped. The vehicles that were qualifying were 2006 and backwards. It should have moved from 2007 and backwards because in 2006 it was law and stood there. There were vehicles that were bought in 2007 like Nyathi which became scraps before their time. People had to stay with them because they can't scrap them because of the year they were bought and they couldn't even use them. Therefore, the scrapping process should have started in 2007. The process should have also looked at the deposit requirements (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 3, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, the scrapping process has not worked for most taxi operators and taxi drivers, with this leading further to their precarity. This is especially since the DoT, through the TSA, only considered old taxis from 2006 and back as qualifying. In other words, those bought after 2006 did not qualify for scrapping, even though they are old. These conditions appear to be what I would call *'transformation or formalisation traps'* of the minibus taxi industry, as they continue trapping the industry into a condition of informality, which in turn perpetuates conditions of precarity. What I call transformation traps of the industry proves that, as Edigheji argues, 'building a 21st century developmental state promises immeasurable well-being gains, but also a project with pitfalls' (2010:51). The result is that South Africa calls itself a developmental state but in the context of the minibus taxi industry, it is actually undermining its growth. Trying to build a developmental state in South Africa through state intervention in the industry requires taking into account the legacy of apartheid and the disadvantages it presented for black people.

The Director of taxi industry development in the DoT, explains the scrapping process:

> The procedure is as follows. One, currently the Department has appointed a service provider called the Taxi Scrapping Administrator (TSA) (okay). TSA has been appointed on a contract basis to scrap vehicles on behalf of the department. Now how it happens is as follows. Any operator who owns and manages an old taxi vehicle needs to have a valid operating license or a permit. Err, he must obviously have a vehicle in his own name. The vehicle must have been operating as a taxi in the country. Such a person can then go to the TSA. At the TSA, they get issued with an application form of which they all have to fill in once they have done that. TSA will then check and verify you know, verification of the vehicle, the

> ownership and the owner. And of course, to ensure that the vehicle is clean. By that I mean that nothing has been tampered with like your engine number or the vehicle has been never reported stolen elsewhere and what have you. Once TSA has verified those kinds of aspects they will send an sms to an operator to bring their physical vehicle to the site. Once a vehicle arrives at the site, the paperwork or documentation will be checked against the engineer. The physical vehicle itself. That will be the second verification to see if the engine number appearing on the engine of the vehicle and the one on the documentation they match. If everything is found to be in order, the operator will then get his allowance or his payment. Okay. And then he will leave and then the vehicle will be scrapped. And that's where the process ends (Director of Taxi Industry Development Department of Transport, Interview, 1 August 2018).

The DoT contracted the Taxi Scrapping Administrator (TSA) to scrap old taxis. However, with the announcement of the RTRP, in March 2019, the DoT 'appointed Anthus Services 84 (Pty) Ltd (Anthus) as the Technical Partner responsible for the administration and management of the programme' (South African Government News Agency 2019:1). The preceding chapter revealed that an operator with an old taxi vehicle (OTV) that needs to be scrapped should have an operating license or a permit. However, most of the taxi operators do not own operating licenses, and hence they did not benefit from the scrapping, presenting further dilemmas of transformation of the industry. While government introduced the scrapping allowance, a form of state intervention (principle of a developmental state) to address the injustices of the past, there are still major challenges facing the minibus taxi industry. These challenges, discussed in the preceding chapter, make it difficult for the industry to be competitive. This condition results in a state of precariousness. As such, this results in poor access to public transportation in South Africa. As Nipha notes, 'access to public transportation is better in some areas of the country than others' (2016:40).

The Director of Taxi Industry Development from the Department of Transport notes that scrapping is currently optional. There is no law that forces taxi operators to bring their vehicles and that is why there are still old looking taxi vehicles on the road. The DoT started scrapping OTVs in 2006, as shown in Table 9.1 below. Between 2006/07 and 2009/10, the uptake of scrapping by taxi operators increased from 1,991 (one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one) to 11,537 (eleven thousand five hundred and thirty-seven). The slow uptake was, and still is due to the dilemmas of minibus taxi industry transformation outlined above. Such dilemmas continue to perpetuate the context of precariousness within the industry, with operators possessing no operating licenses excluded from the scrapping process.

Table 9.1: Number of taxis scrapped by province, 2006/07 – 2018/19

Provinces	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	Total
Eastern Cape	717	1,784	1,465	1,344	388	476	393	303	538	540	542	469	126	9,085
Free State	356	1,142	912	632	372	606	385	215	248	160	241	144	29	5,442
Gauteng	12	1,325	2,087	2,877	2,161	1,915	1,655	881	907	633	596	350	153	15,552
KwaZulu-Natal	549	1,010	853	1,226	451	781	908	461	609	496	808	505	153	8,810
Limpopo	91	2,209	1,384	1,501	523	537	473	260	277	259	345	165	32	8,056
Mpumalanga	148	1,110	729	1,752	868	1,284	795	411	489	377	941	522	49	9,475
Northern Cape	59	164	149	147	57	49	23	10	17	3	6	6	2	692
North West	37	2,357	938	1,403	595	652	562	234	267	270	234	105	44	7,698
Western Cape	22	327	691	655	493	1,330	1,263	651	707	514	649	400	178	7,880
TOTAL	**1,991**	**11,428**	**9,208**	**11,537**	**5,908**	**7,630**	**6,457**	**3,426**	**4,059**	**3,252**	**4,362**	**2,666**	**766**	**72,690**

Source: Department of Transport 2018

While the total number of old taxis scrapped increased from 1,991 (one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one) in 2006/07 to 11,537 (eleven thousand five hundred and thirty-seven) in 2009/10, the numbers declined from 5,908 (five thousand nine hundred and eight) in 2010/11 to 2,666 (two thousand six hundred and sixty-six) in 2017/18. So, the total number of OTVs scrapped since 2006/07 until 2017/18 was sitting at 72,690 (seventy-two thousand six hundred and ninety), with the Gauteng province leading by 15,552 (fifteen thousand five hundred and fifty-two). Between April 2018 and July 2018, the total number of OTVs scrapped was sitting at 766 (seven hundred and sixty-six), with the Gauteng and Western Cape both at 153 (one fifty-three) taxis scrapped. However, while the number of old taxis scrapped in Gauteng have increased over the years, there are still many operators who have not benefited, mainly because the old taxis do not have operating licenses which are required for scrapping. Therefore, in the context of the scrapping of OTVs, it appears that the state is confronted with the dilemma of minibus taxi industry transformation. For Edigheji, 'looking at the current dilemmas of South Africa sets both costs and potential in a concrete historical context' (2010:38). The point of not benefiting from scrapping is explained by one taxi owner from Faraday taxi rank, who states:

> They want a certificate. You see an old car doesn't have a certificate. So at first they were not issuing certificates. So how are you going to take it to the scrap yard if you do not have a certificate? The vehicle becomes old without having a certificate. I mean they are saying now that they want to cancel the old ones. They want the quantums (Taxi Owner 3 Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 September 2018).

It appears that the main reason why some old taxis did not benefit from scrapping is that they do not have certificates, that is, operating licenses. This further perpetuates the dilemma of minibus taxi industry transformation in relation to the scrapping of OTVs. Such challenges, that is, scrapping OTVs with operating licenses and not scrapping those with no operating licenses (Nipha 2016), puts taxi operators and taxi drivers into a difficult position, whether to drive a new taxi through scrapping or continue driving an old taxi and not benefit from the scrapping process. Both these dilemmas place employees in a condition of precarity, with taxi drivers having to drive fast as much as possible in order to generate income and working under precarious conditions of work. So, seemingly the scrapping only helped those with operating licenses, as one taxi driver from Faraday taxi rank notes:

> It helped a lot of people especially those with certificates. But as for us without them, it did not help us (Taxi Driver 3, Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview 1 September 2018).

Therefore, taxi operators continue driving old taxis, unable to get their taxis scrapped. The total number of seventy-one thousand, seven hundred and forty-seven (71,747) taxis scrapped between 2006/07 and 2017/18 only included those with operating licenses, as per the requirements for scrapping explained by the Director of Taxi Industry Development from the Department of Transport. Most taxi operators think it would be best if government issued operating licenses to old and new taxis. The problem is that taxi operators are not able to take their taxis for scrapping, because they do not have operating licenses. This problem is further explained by another taxi driver from Faraday taxi rank who notes:

> Our problem, for most of us, is that we do have vehicles, but we do not have certificates. Even if I take this car there, they will require a certificate and I do not have a certificate. What must we do? The government told us that this type of vehicle can no longer obtain certificates. They did not do as you are now doing, to say that you have this much time guys. We are pleading that anyone who does not have an operating license to come, so that we can be able to scrap these cars because these cars can no longer work. The government just told us that these vehicles no longer work, which is vehicles which have these many years we can no longer receive them, what must we do then? (Taxi Driver 4 Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 September2018).

Government refused to issue operating licenses to some old taxis, those bought after 2006. This is because government told taxi operators that their taxis were too old to obtain operating licenses. The refusal to issue operating licenses further puts taxi operators in a position of precarity, in that they drive OTVs with no operating licenses. So, it appears that government also has a hand in the precarity of conditions within the industry. Thus, I argue that the precariat in other parts of the Global South have their own definitive characteristics and these are different from the experiences of the precariat in the Global North. Precarious existence in the Global South is different from that of the Global North (Deshingkar 2018).

Considering the dilemmas of minibus taxi industry transformation, presented by the process of scrapping OTVs by the state, the following section presents a deeper analysis of the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry. Thus, while the programme, through the scrapping process, has improved the condition of some taxis from old to new taxis, most OTVs (the backlog of 63,241 as of March 2019) are still operating as un-roadworthy. While taxi operators who could not scrap their OTVs place their taxi drivers in precarious conditions of work due to the poor condition of taxis, those who managed to scrap their taxis persist in placing their taxi drivers and taxi marshals in precariousness because of the lack of labour regulations. Like Mmadi (2012), who studied the working conditions for taxi drivers in

Mamelodi Township (Pretoria, Gauteng) and Sekhukhune District, Limpopo, the following section also looks at working conditions, wages, benefits and employment relationships. However, this section examines the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work in the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg and discovers that the TRP has had minimal impact. This is as a result of pitfalls which continue to face the industry. In this regard, it appears that the realisation of a developmental state is delayed (Edigheji 2010).

9.3 Taxi Recapitalisation Programme's Minimal Impact on Precarious Conditions of Work: An Industry Full of Pitfalls

Research undertaken by Baloyi (2012:ii) examined 'the impact that the implementation of the TRP has on taxi queue marshals, taxi rank- street vendors, taxi drivers and taxi-owners as well as their perceptions of the government's Recapitalisation programme', and likewise, this section focuses on the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work. While Baloyi's research investigated the impact of the programme on the industry, he failed to reveal the existence of precariousness in the industry. In similar fashion, Ntuli's (2015) work is also guilty of this omission. He only focused on the impact of the TRP in formalising the industry, but not the precarious conditions of work per se. While Ntuli (2015) explains that the TRP has not achieved the objective of removing all un-roadworthy vehicles, which is correct, he failed to expose that the condition of un-roadworthy taxis reveals an existence of precariousness. Similar to this, while Mashishi (2011) investigated the TRP perceptions of the taxi associations in Temba, near Hammanskraal, he did not reveal precarious conditions in the industry. As such, this chapter fills these gaps. This chapter challenges Guy Standing's tendency to universalise the precariat, as if one size fits all across the world. I argue that there is the existence of a precariat in other parts of the Global South and in South Africa, exemplified by the minibus taxi industry in Johannesburg, South Africa. The preceding section has shown that few taxis benefited from the TRP through scrapping; with this meaning that the programme has had minimal impact in the industry. Most taxi operators did not have a satisfactory experience with the TRP and, therefore, it did not have an impact on precarious conditions of work. Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO's participant explains this experience with the programme:

> They are not good, especially for me as an official I have met with them several times. I have been going to Germiston and their head office in Midrand but came back empty handed. You end up giving up and taking back your taxi to the rank. To them they reject some of the claims. If the TRP really was there we were not going to be in this mess. We don't say they must scrap everything, but they must

> speed up the process. We don't say they must do everyone a favour, but the process must be in place, that is my concern (Participant, Bidvest McCarthy and SANTACO, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Just like Ntuli (2015), who argued that the TRP failed to achieve its objectives, this chapter notes that the programme did not bring about change for most people in the industry, as the NTA spokesperson explains:

> As NTA we cried foul from inception. We had a Siyaya programme together with Toyota. NTA sat and designed an industry specific vehicle and that vehicle was retailed at around R140 000 and those were your Toyota Hiaces, your Siyaya. Then we had a Siyaya project and people became better off. Those cars were easily maintained. Taxi operators got a sigh of relief in terms of high cost of maintenance and high cost of repayment because we have reinvented a special way of repaying those vehicles. Not even a single vehicle was repossessed and less than 5% of those vehicles were involved in serious accidents that led to people losing their lives. You can do your own research. The TRP was supposed to be a boom to taxi industry but we saw it as something that is going to be retrogressive and unaffordable for taxi operators. These are the following reasons. The capacity of vehicles was minimised. So, you had fewer passengers boarding the taxi. We were told it was a safety measure but there was no research that was done. Two seats were removed. Operators lost on revenue even though they are not subsidised (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview, 1 November 2018).

From these comments, we can ascertain that the TRP had a negative impact monetarily. The industry is worse-off, instead of being better off. Therefore, it appears that the TRP has faced "pitfalls", delaying the successful implementation of the TRP. Noting that with the announcement of the RTRP, the scrapping allowance increased from R91,100 to R124,000 per scrapped old taxi, with the hope that it would address the pitfalls in the subsection above. In other words, to move the industry from its precarious existence. An existence which continues trapping the industry into a state of informality (Browning 2018).

Like Oosthuizen and Mhlambi (2002), who revealed the industry to be 'full of pitfalls', I argue that the precariousness of conditions in the industry is defined by these pitfalls. Oosthuizen and Mhlambi (2002) classify them into the following five categories:

1. Development initiatives: where the taxi ranks are not only pick-up points for taxis, but also points for informal traders to have their businesses. According to Oosthuizen and Mhlambi (2002), the problem with developments for informal traders in the taxi ranks is that they are never formally shared with the industry. However, in contrast, I argue that taxi ranks

are sites of development for both taxi operators and informal traders. These two are structurally linked and shape their development daily.

2. According to Oosthuizen and Mhlambi (2002), a second pitfall is 'when members of the industry do business with people outside the industry'. In this case, taxi operators do not participate in the projects designed for the industry because they 'were not considered a particular project' (Oosthuizen and Mhlambi 2002:2). For example, this is when some taxi operators considered the TRP as a way for government to take away their businesses (Fourie 2003).
3. A third pitfall has to do with leadership and membership. For example, 'when leaders do not report back to members' (Oosthuizen and Mhlambi 2002:3). Of relevance to this thesis is when taxi operators do not own registered vehicles. Therefore, because some "leaders" (taxi operators/owners) do not own operating licenses as discussed in chapter 7, they find it difficult 'persuading some members to agree to the implementation of measures to formalise the industry' (Oosthuizen and Mhlambi 2002:4). In chapter 7, I noted that this pitfall starts with some taxi operators not being given operating licenses. This is a challenge that has been noted by some taxi operators.
4. Oosthuizen and Mhlambi (2002) argue that the fourth pitfall comes in the regulation and control system. They argue that there is a 'slow pace at which regulatory system is being implemented' (2002:4). In relation to their argument, in chapter 7, I discussed the regulation of the minibus taxi industry and noted related pitfalls. For example, one pitfall is related to the formalisation process, which is linked to regulation, in that some taxi owners do not understand, or do not agree with the formalisation plans and strategies. So, while the RTRP has been announced with its mandate to formalise the industry through the introduction of collaborative taxi industry and operating models, some taxi operators may not agree with this, unless they are involved in the discussions on how it will take place.

It can be inferred from my fieldwork that staff employed in the minibus taxi industry are put under poor working conditions. The TRP has had little impact on the industry's insecure working conditions. This is made worse by the lack of proper integration in improving working conditions in the industry when the TRP was implemented thirteen years ago. It is only in the RTRP that the state emphasised the value of providing taxi drivers and taxi marshals with fair and healthy jobs (South African Government News Agency 2019). The NTA spokesperson suggests that if the programme was designed in collaboration with the NTA, it would have been a better programme:

> We would have made sure that it is a programme to make us better off and not worse off as I have mentioned. It would have been a programme that would make us proud to be South African and be led by our own fellow countrymen, but the opposite is the truth (Spokesperson, NTA, Interview, 1 November 2018).

It appears from this subsection that government failed to collaborate with the NTA, whilst they do collaborate with SANTACO. Therefore, this suggests that government is in a working relationship with SANTACO and not the NTA. The relationship between the state versus SANTACO and NTA places the state in a deeper dilemma than acknowledged above in relation to the scrapping process. At one level, the state has a relationship with SANTACO; and at the other level, the state does not have a relationship with the NTA. Both the NTA and SANTACO have members in the minibus taxi industry. These dilemmas present what Edigheji (2010:52) calls the 'pitfalls of a 21st century developmental state project'. Thus, while the state tries to transform the industry through the RTRP, it will fail in the context where there are competing interests between taxi operators (Browning 2018).

The literature used in this thesis (Schalekamp et al. 2010; Mahlangu 2002; Chiloane-Tsoka 2006; Ingle 2009; Mashishi 2011; Baloyi 2012; and Kgwedi and Krygsman 2017) has shown that the implementation of the TRP has been met with dissatisfaction from various taxi operators, some arguing that the scrapping allowance is not enough to cover the costs of buying new taxis. During my fieldwork, one taxi driver from Faraday taxi rank explained the minibus taxi industry's dissatisfaction with the TRP as follows:

> In recent years I don't see us participating full in the TRP. There is dissatisfaction with the implementation processes, including the amount that is paid for scrapping and rivalry between SANTACO and NTA. At first, the programme was branded as a SANTACO project with government and NTA stood back and didn't take part with its members. My sense, and I'm sure other taxi drivers and taxi owners would agree, is that there has been limited success. I know there are taxi operators who handed, and some did not hand their older taxis to be recapitalised (Taxi Driver 1, Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 September 2018).

There appears to be much dissatisfaction with the TRP from the industry, made worse by the rivalry between SANTACO and the NTA. This presents a dilemma for transformation of the minibus taxi industry. There is also a very low uptake of the programme from the industry, mainly due to requirements. Like Baloyi, who studied the implementation of the TRP and discovered that the programme 'is not bringing substantial benefit to those it intends to benefit such as taxi operators, taxi drivers and the government revenue system' (2012:ii), I discovered that the TRP

did not serve its purpose of ensuring that public transport is as safe as possible. While noting that there was an intention to remove all OTVs from the road and introduce new vehicles through the scrapping process, only 72,653 OTVs have benefited, as explained above in the section on scrapping.

In addition to dissatisfaction with the TRP outlined above, one taxi owner (operator) from Faraday taxi rank expressed their experiences with the programme in the taxi rank:

> Most of us feel that this process did not assist us as such. Because what it does it gives you R85000 and you have to buy a quantum of R490 000 which means the whole R400 000 is on your shoulders you know. And when you add the interest and all these banking charges, then it takes you maybe two even six hundred thousand (R600 000). So, most of the operators complain that they paying about twelve thousand rand per (R12 000) month (Taxi Owner 1, Faraday Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 September 2018).

Therefore, the scrapping allowance is deemed not to be enough, given the costs of buying taxis. So, while other taxi operators had their taxis scrapped, the scrapping allowance from government was not enough to assist them with buying new ones. A participant from SA Taxi Development Finance thinks that the TRP was/is a good programme, despite the fact that it faced challenges:

> I think the TRP was a good project. And I still think it is a good project. In that the main purpose of the TRP was to help operators with the process of acquiring new, safer, reliable mini buses. As much as the TRP was… and I still think plays a meaningful role; the challenge has been that the very same government accredited vehicles that are of poor quality. I mean you look at the majority of people that went in and scrapped the old vehicles. They then with the hope of jumping in to safer vehicles, they jumped into…you know when you jump out of a pan into the fire. You scrap your old vehicle; you acquire an Inyathi. Then what that system did, it did not resolve. So what government did on the right hand side is that they did not close the loopholes on the left hand side. To an extent that now you are still finding operators that scrapped, jumped into the Chinese vehicles. The Chinese vehicles are not good quality. You buy a vehicle, and within three years into your contract, a vehicle is already a scrap. And the TRP can't accept the vehicle as a vehicle that must be scrapped because it is not an OTV – meaning, it is not an old taxi vehicle (Participant, SA Taxi Development Finance, Interview, 1 October 2018).

So, while the TRP was a good project, as the participant form SA Taxi Development Finance thinks, it still had challenges related to the scrapping allowance not being enough, given the costs of buying taxis. The newly bought taxis were also in poor condition, needing to be scrapped at a later stage but do not qualify as they are not old taxis. It further perpetuates the precariousness situation within the industry. The programme definitely assisted taxi operators to acquire safer

vehicles. However, while it made good to this end, it weakened itself by allowing weaker, less inferior quality vehicles to come onto the market. This quality of vehicles, in turn, led to the continuity of precariousness within the industry. The minimal impact of the TRP and the continued precariousness of working conditions in the industry makes it impossible for taxi drivers and taxi marshals to socially reproduce themselves. Social reproduction is the capability of workers to socially reproduce themselves through the means of subsistence that are necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of their labour power (Jonna and Foster 2016). Therefore, the poor quality of many minibus taxis negatively impacts on the reproduction of labour power for taxi drivers. While they continue executing their labour power through driving fewer new and many old taxis, this places commuters in precarious conditions.

The following section explains that vehicles are often driven in a poor condition, as the taxi operators' aim is the accumulation of capital at all costs. This in turn means that taxi drivers have to drive as much as possible to generate revenue. The accumulation of capital is recreated daily in the industry through the buying of old and new taxis. This is what Rosa Luxemburg calls the 'social reproduction of capital' (Luxemburg 1951). Luxemburg regards this reproduction as repetition and renewal of the production process. Therefore, when taxi people buy taxis and operate as public transport operators, they reproduce the production process for the taxi drivers and taxi marshals. In this production process, taxi drivers are continually faced with the task of taking commuters from point A to point B, and face traffic fines for speeding, while driving under precarious conditions. Khosa has examined 'the process of capitalist accumulation and labour relations in the industry' (1994:55), and in the following section, I also look at the accumulation of capital in the industry post 1994.

9.4 Accumulation of Capital and Precarious Conditions of Work within the Minibus Taxi Industry

Extensive literature (Barrett 2003; Mmadi 2012; Baloyi 2012; Fourie and Pretorius 2005) has shown that working in the minibus taxi industry places taxi drivers in the position that they need to make as many trips as possible, thus getting traffic fines for speeding while chasing passengers. The industry generates capital accumulation for the taxi owners and motor manufacturing companies (Khosa 1994). Central to the production and accumulation of capital is the production and reproduction of value-creating labour power. The contradictory nature of capitalism is revealed in the sense that the capitalists/employers are mainly concerned with profits

and extraction of surplus value, while workers' concerns rest with wages. Thus, there is a need to socially reproduce labour power in the form of wages so that workers can be involved in the production of capital. It is clear from this that capital cannot exist without labour, and vice-versa. The continuous reproduction of labour power is therefore the requirement of capitalist production. Given this, the reproduction of workers is and continues to be a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital. Taxi drivers continue pushing themselves to work maximum hours, depending on the availability of passengers, so as to maximise the accumulation of capital. The taxi industry epitomises what Karl Marx called the 'antagonistic character of capital accumulation', with the accumulation of wealth at one pole (taxi owners) and accumulation of misery and brutality on the opposite side (taxi drivers and taxi marshals) (Marx 1930:63). Harvey notes that accumulation depends on the 'availability of sufficient accessible reserve of labour power' (2010:58). Marx calls this 'an industrial reserve army'. Therefore, such a reserve army is a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital within the minibus taxi industry. Following Marx's conception of the antagonistic character of capital accumulation, taxi drivers confirmed this during my fieldwork. For example, one taxi driver from Bree taxi rank complained that 'the taxi owners only care about themselves. An owner owns about 10 taxis and yet we get paid peanuts' (Taxi Driver 5 Bree Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Taxi drivers also find themselves forced to work very long hours for poor pay. Therefore, the TRP has a long way to go before precarious conditions within the industry are addressed. Capital accumulation in the industry is the continual recurrence of the process of production across the industry. An unlimited and constantly changing number of private taxis (legal and illegal) create the total capital reproduction within the industry. Taxi operators produce independently of one another, and are 'not simply producers of commodities but are essentially capitalist producers' (Luxemburg 1951:9). Production within the minibus taxi industry is not simply production for the sake of transporting commuters, but essentially capitalist production. Taxi drivers are under pressure to generate as many taxi fares as possible. One taxi driver from Bree taxi rank explains this pressure as follows:

> Taxi owners only care about themselves. They want to see that money is created daily. As taxi drivers, we are put under pressure to generate income for them (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 1, Interview, 1 August 2018).).

This reveals not only an element of the generation of capital, but also a social recognition of taxi drivers' struggle within the taxi industry. Mahmud explains the workers' pressures as follows:

> The higher the productivity of labour, the greater is the pressure of the workers on the means of employment, the more precarious therefore becomes the condition for their existence, namely the sale of their own labour-power for the increase of alien wealth, or in other words the self-valorization of capital (2015:699).

Therefore, the conditions for taxi drivers becomes more precarious as they are under pressure to generate more taxi fares, while being underpaid and work in precarious conditions. The growth of the minibus taxi industry is also marked by precarious labour markets. The conditions of precariousness within the industry are therefore directly connected with capital accumulation, conditions in the taxi ranks and the politics of representation by the NTA and SANTACO.

Noting the minimal success of the TRP and the challenges faced by the industry, the government opted for a review of the programme. The review was informed by the decline in uptake. So, the numbers started getting less and less, as noted above on scrapping. This proved to be a clear indication to government that there was a need to conduct a review. This review is discussed in the following section.

9.5 Review of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

The review of the TRP was conducted, the taxi industry participated, and they submitted their views, their issues, their challenges and how the review findings were going to be implemented. When then Minister of Transport, Dr Blade Nzimande, announced the RTRP on 26 April 2019, he explained that 'government decided to revise the TRP to meet the current and future needs of commuters and to stimulate the economic potential of the industry' (South African Government News Agency 2019). Several findings came out of that review, including that of the scrapping allowance, which was to be increased to a fair amount, as the allowance was deemed too little to assist the minibus taxi industry. As such, as noted above under the section on scrapping of OTVs, as of March 2019, the government decided to increase the scrapping allowance from R91 100 to R124 000. To explain this recommendation further, the Director of Taxi Industry Development from the DoT states:

> The department is currently looking at the means and ways of how we can arrive at or determine a fair scrapping allowance. The review also recommended that we also consider including the scholar transportation into the scrapping, because they

> were not part of the process as well as the cross-border operators. We are also looking at how we are going to improve our processes of issuing your permits and operating licenses, OK because that's one of the areas that came out that the process is slow and people can't actually get the documents on time. The department is looking at not revamping our system that issues these permits and what have you and all else. The issue of illegal operations is one of the issues that came out of the report and the department is also working towards finding a solution of addressing the issues of illegal operators. Yeah, those are some of the issues from top of my head that I can talk to (Director of Taxi Industry Development Department of Transport, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Reading this, it appears that the findings of the review included the following: in addition to the issue of a scrapping allowance, issuing of permits and operating licenses, the issue of illegal operators, and the fact that scholar transport (whose purpose is mainly transporting learners to public schools and back) was not part of the scrapping. The fact of the matter is that some taxi operators have contracts with provincial departments of transport to ferry learners. The responsibility for scholar transport is shared between the Departments of Education and Transport at provincial and national levels. The beneficiaries of the scholar transport system are needy pupils from grade R to grade 1. Scholar transport is never provided in areas with public transport in order to avoid duplication of services and resources.

The government is in the process of considering the recommendations of the review and, it is hoped that once implemented, the programme will have a positive impact on precarious conditions of work within the industry. The DoT will use the RTRP to unify the taxi industry through the implementation of collective ownership and operating models, using structures such as co-operatives and corporations' (South African Government News Agency 2019:2). It is yet to be seen how this will be implemented.

Although the state has not adequately incorporated working conditions into the TRP, it is inspiring to see that the advantages of the ownership and operating models of the so-called collaborative minibus taxi industry should include: 'Provision of fair and safe jobs for workers, such as taxi drivers, rank marshals, with benefits such as living wages, UIF, housing insurance, medical care, hospital cover, pension funds, retirement, funeral cover, etc.' (South African Government News Agency 2019:2). Certainly, if this collaborative model is successfully implemented, it would help in addressing the 'seven forms of labour-related security' (Standing 2011:10). This model would be a form of state intervention, a principle of a developmental state (Burger 2014), but there might be what Edigheji (2010) calls 'pitfalls' in the long run. Thus, only dwelling on the lessons of the

TRP could also undermine the RTRP project. What is required is for the state to engage the industry on the implementation of the collaborative model. Edigheji rightly points out that 'it would be fatal for the developmental state project of the 21st century to ignore the main role of feedback and participation on the part of the constituencies that will make use of capacity-expanding services, but even the best bureaucrats may fall into this trap.' (2010:52).

In addition to the issue of scrapping as part of the TRP, the programme seeks to try and formalise the industry to transform into business units, for example co-operatives. This is so that the industry can participate as units in the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. Where they have been successful, taxis that operate on a particular route are collapsed or scrapped and the operators become part of the companies operating those particular routes. This is seen in the City of Johannesburg where BRTs found that certain routes are operated by city taxi associations, and the objective is to engage with them and come to an agreement. So, taxis are then scrapped, and the operators form part of the BRTs. This is one of the ways that government is trying to formalise the industry. This is an example of state intervention, a practice of a developmental state in construction, as defined by Edigheji (2010). In his announcement of the RTRP, Dr Blade Nzimande explained that the state shall expand the reach of 135,894 OTVs beyond the scrapping balance to include the following:

1. **Commercialisation**: the development of sustainable commercially viable RTRP management solution leveraging and exploiting the resources available to taxi operators as active and relevant participants in the entire value chain of the minibus taxi market.
2. **Illegal operators and verification process**: which is the determination of the extent of illegal taxi operations in the country by conducting a national survey to create a detailed database of operators and operations in the minibus taxi industry.
3. **Change management and unity**: The DoT intends to use the RTRP as a catalyst for shift to operating models of the taxi industry (South African Government News Agency 2019:2).

The pitfalls defining the minibus taxi industry transformation led to the demise of the TRP and resulted in its revision into the RTRP. There is still much to be done to transform precarious conditions in the industry through making sure that the RTRP has a meaningful impact. In relation to the second recommendation of **illegal operators and verification process**, between 2018 and 2019, I previously recommended as follows (through interviews with various media platforms

(including eNCA[17], eTV, Newz Room Africa channel 405, SABC channel 404[18], and SAfm[19]), that government commissions a detailed study of taxi violence in the industry and develops a concrete national action plan to tackle the wider issues of industrial working conditions that threaten the capacity of the industry to make a significant contribution to the country's economic development. This would help in addressing precarious conditions of work in the industry, conditions that not only place taxi drivers in positions of precarity, but also commuters.

The third recommendation on **change management and unity** will require the DoT to ensure that there is proper engagement with the industry. This is in order that taxi operators do not see it as a plan by government to take their business, which was what they considered the TRP to be (Baloyi 2012). Considering this, the RTRP, with its purpose of unifying the minibus taxi industry through the so-called collaborative taxi industry ownership and operating model, is developed in a context of precarious conditions where 'taxi drivers are underpaid' (Khosa 1994:67). So, while the RTRP has recommended a collaborative taxi industry and operating models with the hope of providing decent and secure employment to taxi drivers and taxi marshals, the state will have to convince taxi owners of the benefits of this. This is apparent, particularly in the context where taxi owners require taxi drivers to work as much as possible to generate revenue through taxi fares. Underpayment of taxi drivers remains a critical issue within the industry, as the Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator from SATAWU explains:

> Yes, they are underpaid, because look, sectoral determination now if I am not mistaken, is saying that if that owner is paying less locally, it must not be less than, maybe, R8000 now. You can just google it. Just go to sectoral determination. It will tell you taxi sector, sectoral determination minimum wage, maybe 2018 – 2019. It will tell you. But most of the taxi drivers are still earning less than R5000. Less than what they were supposed to be earning. There is no leave. When you want to be off, you will dig and dig, it's Monday to Monday. No leave, no overtime pay and secondly, no payslip and sectoral determination stipulated clearly that payslip, working hours, leave, paternity leave, they are all there in the sectoral determination. But no one benefits them (Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator, SATAWU, Interview, 1 November 2018).

As a result, the problem of underpayment of taxi drivers speaks to the precariousness of work within the industry. As appendix 14 shows, the majority of taxi drivers in all the four major taxi ranks in Johannesburg earn less than R5000. I obtained this information through using

[17] Interview available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZEBi2LB94UY
[18] Interview available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C4q3XXdZFEU
[19] Interview available here: https://iono.fm/e/584887

demographic questionnaires, as all participants were not comfortable talking about their salaries. While the demographic questionnaires had three salary bands (less than R5000; R5000 to R10 000; and more than R10 000), some taxi drivers communicated their salaries verbally and mentioned they earn R500 a week. For example, one taxi driver from Bree taxi rank states:

> We are underpaid, our salaries dependent on the number of trips we take per day. Most of us here are paid on commission. My salary fluctuates every week. One week, I am given R500, and the other week less than this or more (Bree Taxi Rank Taxi Driver 3, Interview, 1 August 2018).

So, while the majority of interviewed taxi drivers refused to verbally announce their earnings, those who did revealed that they earn "peanuts". In executing their duties, taxi drivers continue to be exposed to traffic fines, placing a huge burden on them. And, while it is not clear how the RTRP will directly lead to the decent payment of taxi drivers, if successfully implemented, it will transform working conditions within the industry, so that the industry can compete efficiently and effectively. Therefore, the RTRP should also engage with questions of how the industry can be made competitive. In this regard, the question of training and skills development within the industry also needs to be addressed, which will transform the industry into being competitive and lead to better pay.

Training and skills development form part of the RTRP and this is important for the programme to have a meaningful impact on precarious conditions of work in the industry. The Director of Taxi Industry Development from the DoT explains training within the industry as follows:

> Training is being provided. But that's ongoing. The department together with Transport Education and Training Authority (TETA) come up with programmes and projects but also together with the industry to train the drivers and the operators (Director of Taxi Industry Development Department of Transport, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, taxi operators will need to get training in specific areas such as how to manage small business and fleet management. In addition, taxi drivers also need training on safe driving and vehicle handling. As a result, TETA is working together with government to bring training to the taxi industry at large. While this is important in order to bring about change in the industry, it also introduces training on the issue of quality working conditions within the industry.

Against the backdrop of the minimal contribution of TRP to the minibus taxi industry, specifically in relation to improving working conditions – with the hope that the RTRP will have a meaningful

impact, the following section provides recommendations. For the state to successfully transform the industry through RTRP, there is a need to address all the pitfalls of development (Edigheji 2010), pitfalls which continue to place the industry in a state of precarity, as defined by Guy Standing (2011).

9.6 Recommendations on Improving the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme

Fourie (2003) examined the formalisation of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa and argued that 'subsequent to the formalisation of the operational structure of the industry, a design for the formalisation of the capital structure of the taxi industry should be explored' (2003:105). This section of the thesis examines the recommendations for improving the RTRP in terms of formalisation. The informal, unregulated and precarious context of the industry threatens its existence, and therefore, the formalisation process should be rethought to involve different stakeholders (Browning 2018). One of the main things that can be done to improve the RTRP and working conditions within the industry is collaboration between departments and stakeholders. For example, the DoT must work together with the DoEL, SANTACO, NTA, SATAWU and taxi operators to successfully transform the industry. A participant from the DoEL explains the issue of collaboration:

> Look I have mixed views when it comes to that but definitely the transport system needs some attention. Another thing that we need not to shy away from is that the governance needs to work together. If we work together there is so much that we can achieve. There is collaboration not with government only, with business as well. There are several issues that we see collaboration between business and taxis. How many times at night have you seen a taxi waiting outside Spur waiting for workers? That is collaboration. It needs engagement from different stakeholders. If you want to speak about transport system just in broad. There are a lot of issues, there is your uber issue, meter taxi issue and there is the one that just happened recently in Alexandra. The issue that came up is that I think the taxi industry, personal view as well, have realised the power they have in terms of economy and they are starting to push their head forward for this. You need to look at this in terms of feasibility of the transport mode that we have in the country because to most commuters, taxi is a solution for them. With the fuel hike prices that we get, it really complicates the whole transport system. For that I will reserve, that's personal views that I have put forward (Representative from the Department of Employment and Labour, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, collaboration is important for the RTRP to have a meaningful impact in the industry. For example, for the DoL to successfully carry out inspections, it needs to collaborate with the DoT and the traffic department. This collaboration would ensure that the industry is formalised,

as per the recommendations of the 1996 White Paper on Transport Policy (Department of Transport 1996). This White Paper aimed to address unemployment, inequality and the challenges of poverty through a more efficient and effective transport system. However, 23 (twenty-three) years after this policy was passed, there is still much to be done to transform the public transport sector.

In order for the DoL to be able to conduct inspections of the taxis and improve working conditions, they need to collaborate with traffic officers. This will help the DoL to see if the industry is complying with labour regulations. However, Sechaba suggests that 'the DoL as a custodian to inspection and enforcement for labour legislation seems to fail in fulling its mandate' (2017:32). As with Sechaba's analysis that some taxi drivers indicated that they had never seen DoL inspectors at the ranks, my findings suggested that this was the case in all four taxi ranks. For instance, one taxi driver from Noord taxi rank states:

> In my 15 (fifteen) years working as a taxi driver, I have never seen inspectors coming to this taxi rank. I have also never seen them on the routes I drive in (Taxi Driver 3, Noord Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 October 2018).

Therefore, the DoEL displays a lack of strategic intervention in the industry, with this leading to further precariousness of work in the industry. The DoEL appears not to be actively involved in the regulation of the industry. In fact, the Department appears to be passive. Perhaps collaboration, as the participant from the DoEL suggests, could work in terms of labour regulating the industry. The same participant also notes that intimidation from the industry makes it difficult for labour inspectors to perform their functions adequately. In relation to the issue of collaboration, a taxi owner from Wanderers taxi rank states that there should be political will on the part of government to engage with the industry:

> We need to have a political will to drive the whole regime of public transport, particularly in the taxi industry, where you deliberately come up with standardised procedures, in terms of how the business should be run. And of course you can't do it without them, you have to do it in full consultation with them. And you from time to time, when you talk with these people in meetings, you can see that these are sound people and once you fully engage them as government, you can have a good return on investment. But I think, government is just not much willing to engage with these people. There is so much of a us and them. And I think if we can start engaging them, engaging them and make them feel like they are part of the business that we are doing. And we are not actually doing them a favour. And make them feel like they are actually our public transport partners. We are going to win, because whatever we propose we are most likely going to get their support

> in terms of standardising and regulating the entire public transport or taxi industry space (Taxi Owner 2, Wanderers Taxi Rank, Interview, 1 November 2018).

Therefore, there should be willingness from government to engage with the minibus taxi industry in order to improve the effectiveness of the TRP. This political will is critical to the realisation of a developmental state in the 21st century (Edigheji 2010). So, for the benefits of a so-called collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models, as described by Dr Blade Nzimande in the announcement of the RTRP on 26 April 2019 to be realised, there needs to be willingness from the DoEL. Certainly, if the DoEL is involved and there is willingness from the taxi operators, the provision of decent and secure employment to taxi drivers and taxi marshals will address their precarious conditions of work.

The interviewed commuters emphasised the importance of working together in the minibus taxi industry so that challenges faced by the industry could be addressed. These are the challenges which delay transformation of the industry. For example, one commuter explains:

> As a step to sorting out violence, there has to be a lot of emphasis on working together. It's their industry, so they must work together. Secondly, respect. They need to respect us because we bring money to them. They treat us like they are making us a favour forgetting that we are bringing them money. If we can decide as commuters that we are stopping using taxis. They will start violence against us. Violence to force us to use the taxis. Respect the person coz he will respect you back. Even if other modes of transport come, we will be loyal to them. You see now, we have taxis and it's the main transportation but when you think of using a taxi, you think about how disrespectful taxi drivers are. You are even afraid of asking for directions. If you go to Noord taxi rank and ask for something, they will hurl insults at you. If they can focus on respect (Commuter 3, Interview, 1 August 2018).

Therefore, in addition to collaboration between taxi operators, this subsection shows that it important that taxi drivers show respect to commuters. It appears that collaboration within the industry is also considered important from an outsider's point of view. In addition to the outsiders' recommendations on collaboration, it is important that taxi operators keep their taxis in good condition, as another commuter states:

> Taxi owners should keep their taxis in good conditions. Passengers can't be expected to use taxis that are not comfortable. Another one is when the government is seeking for other alternative for transport mode. As a government, when you check Maano's taxis and see that they are not in good condition. What are you going to discuss with him? When you have taxi that are in good condition

> then there is something that is gonna come out of that. Maintain your taxis so that whenever there is gonna be negotiations you can get something out of that (Commuter 4, Interview, 1 August 2018).

It is clear from this statement that some taxis are not in good condition. Hence, it is important that this is improved so that commuters can feel safe. This is particularly critical in the context where commuters do not feel safe using taxis (Sauti 2006). For example, the 2018 Criterion report reported that 42% of commuters believed that taxis are very precarious (South African Institute of Race Relations 2018). These conditions should be considered by the RTRP through its implementation.

9.7 Conclusion

While research (Fourie 2003; Baloyi 2012; Browning 2018) has been conducted on the implementation of the TRP, this chapter seeks to fill the gap on the impact of the TRP on the minibus taxi industry's precarious working conditions. I reported that the TRP had a limited impact on the industry. I noted the announcement of the RTRP by then Minister of Transport, Dr Blade Nzimande, on 26 April 2019, a policy of state intervention to transform the minibus taxi industry. I argued that the minimal impact of the TRP is due to pitfalls facing the industry. For example, I discussed regulation pitfalls where some taxi operators are not granted operating licenses and where the DoEL has not enforced labour regulations in the industry.

I furthermore discussed that these pitfalls are delaying the realisation of a developmental state, as defined by Edigheji (2010). While the TRP did not include a detailed account of labour regulation, I noted that it is motivating that the new RTRP, through collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models, is proposing to give taxi drivers and taxi marshals good and safe jobs. If the RTRP is successfully implemented, I argued that it will have a significant impact on unstable working conditions within the industry. The chapter then discussed recommendations for improving the TRP. These recommendations can be taken into account when the RTRP is implemented, particularly in relation to the introduction of a collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models. It is hoped that when the issue of precariousness is addressed, this will help to improve commuters' travelling experience.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

This part of the thesis summarises all chapters of the thesis. This chapter also discusses the implications of the minibus taxi industry's working conditions for precariat theory and practice. Taxi drivers and taxi marshals form the precariat with precarious conditions of work. This chapter discusses the methodological contributions of the thesis. It also concludes by briefly discussing the context where the industry operates amidst the Coronavirus pandemic and subsequent national lockdown. While in the lockdown, at my apartment, I read (and watched) news on the occurrences related to the industry's operations in the midst of the virus. I recommend that future research be conducted on the response of the industry to emergency situations such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

CHAPTER 10:

Concluding Overview

10.1 Introduction

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the TRP had minimally positive impact on the minibus taxi industry's precarious working conditions. The purpose of this chapter is to address the implications of working conditions for precariat theory and practice in the minibus taxi industry. Summaries of all chapters will also be discussed. The continual reproduction of precarity as a result of the pitfalls of minibus taxi industry transformation not only places taxi drivers and taxi marshals in positions of precarity, but also commuters who make use of taxis daily. Therefore, if the implementation of the RTRP is to succeed, this will help in ensuring that commuters travel in safe taxis.

The main argument of this chapter is that taxi drivers and taxi marshals are precariat workers in precarious conditions of work. They may have labour rights as set out in the Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector but taxi owners are not involved in enforcing those rights. There needs to be collaboration between departments to ensure that the industry complies with labour regulations. In contrast to Guy Standing who argues that the precariat is separated from the working class, I argue that the precariat is, in fact, not separated from the working class. The precariat within the minibus taxi industry is a working class existing in their own real precarious context. The existence of the precariat as part of the working class in other parts of the Global South has been historically defined by precariousness.

The argument unpacked in this chapter is to show that improving working conditions for taxi drivers and taxi marshals has a positive impact on the travelling experiences of commuters. This is due to the fact that the labour power of taxi drivers is intrinsically linked to the travelling experiences of commuters. In this context, social reproduction becomes important as defining the lives of taxi drivers: that they are not only defined by the labour power of driving taxis but that their capacity to work (labour power) is reproduced socially through transporting commuters. So, while the preceding chapters discussed the relationship between taxi drivers, taxi marshals and taxi owners as principal objects of analysis, this chapter considers the processes associated with the reproduction of the relationship between the industry and commuters. That is, the processes of transporting commuters from point A to point B. This chapter also engages with the research

question on the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work. So, when taxis are in good condition, this ensures the safety of commuters. In turn, when commuters feel safe, they are more inclined to trust the minibus taxi industry and not label it as a violent industry with people who only care about themselves and not the commuters. Therefore, public transport, in particular the minibus taxi industry is considered important for improving the 'sustainability and quality of urban life' (Saif et al. 2018:36). Accessibility is one of the most significant outcomes of an improved public transport system.

10.2 Implications of the *Minibus Taxi Industry Working Conditions* for Precariat Theory and Practice

What are the implications of the study of minibus taxi industry on precariat theory and practice of working conditions? This section engages with this question with the aim of contributing to the theory of precarity. While Guy Standing considers the precariat as denizens, i.e. lacking some of the rights enjoyed by citizens, workers in the minibus taxi industry are citizens with labour rights. The precariat is placed in precarious conditions of work, as discussed in chapters 9, 10 and 11. I hold that the term precariat should not only be considered from a Northern perspective, but also from a Southern perspective, as argued by Munck. In other words, the precariat should be examined 'from a global – that, is majority world – perspective to redress the balance in recent debates around this concept' (Munck 2013:747). As with Clarke's research (2006), which studied the nature of precarious work in post-apartheid South Africa, this thesis reveals the existence of precariousness in other parts of the Global South within South Africa's minibus taxi industry. Therefore, any analysis of the conditions, that is, precarious conditions of work resulting from the existence of the precariat, should take into account the historical existence of such conditions in the South around marginality and informality debates. For example, South Africa's minibus taxi industry was historically marginalised by the apartheid state. It was only in 1994, with the new democratic dispensation, that government made plans to formalise the industry. However, the industry still remains informal, unregulated and marginalised (Mahlangu 2002). Therefore, precarious conditions of work in the industry, as defined by lack of employment security, representation security and lack of contracts, are not new in the industry.

The work of taxi drivers is naturally connected to the voyaging encounters of commuters. As a result, their (taxi drivers) labour power is socially reproduced. The notion of social reproduction within the industry is the relationship between wage labour (taxi drivers, taxi marshals) and capital

(taxi owners), and the household, including commuters. Social relationships take the connection between wage labour and capital as the principal object of analysis and the institutions, components and processes related with the economic, social, political and ideological propagation of this relationship (Marx 2000). The minibus taxi industry is not the same as other public transport, for example, prepares and transports, as far as how the work procedure is sorted out, and who has control. The taxi business is worker driven, and consequently, as long as there are suburbanites to be transported, taxis need to work.

While there has been extensive research conducted on the minibus taxi industry, there has also been a failure to take into account the commuters in relation to economy, more especially concerning their contribution to the reproduction of labour power, or to consider more seriously the consequences this has for the position of taxi drivers in society. Therefore, it is important that in our understanding of work, we highlight the connections between commuters and the reproduction of capitalist social relations in the minibus taxi industry. In his analysis of labour power, Karl Marx defines this as the capacity to labour/work (Marx 1930). Labour power exists in any sort of society, yet on what footing it is exchanged or joined with the means of production to deliver merchandise and ventures has historically differed incredibly. In the industrialist setting, work power turns into an item that is purchased and sold available (Jonna and Foster 2016). This implies a cab driver sells his/her work power/ability to work for a taxi proprietor, in return for a pay or compensation, as precarious as their conditions might be.

While labour regulations in South Africa require that taxi drivers have a contract of employment, they do not enjoy this, as their employers, the taxi owners, deny them this right. Also, taxi drivers do not enjoy a right to representation, as revered in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. In this way, this proposal adds to the hypothesis of precarity in that the precariat are part of the working class and have labour rights even though they do not enjoy them, being denied these rights by taxi owners. Breman (2013) has argued that Standing's analysis is distorted where he identifies a new "global" class, and similarly, I argue that the precariat is specific to conditions found in different countries. Lazar and Sanchez also argue 'that precarity is experienced in various ways in the Global North and South, among stable labourers and in "casual" work' (2019:3), and I corroborate this argument by proposing that the existence of the precariat cannot be generalised. Workers in informal sectors of the minibus taxi industry experience precariousness in their own ways. While the working class might have different histories between countries and similarities in terms of what makes a precariat, the precarious existence is different in each context. Indeed,

even in other parts of the Global South, this presence is extraordinary, (for example, the situation between the formalised buses and trains and the informalised/unregulated minibus taxi industry). Therefore, the working conditions of the precariat cannot be generalised, as what holds as precariousness in the Global South might not be considered precarious in the Global North.

According to Clarke, precariousness is defined by the following employment conditions: 'levels of wages, access to benefits, income and employment security' (2006:14). Therefore, this thesis has made a contribution towards the definition of precariousness, as it considers precariousness with regards to conditions of work in the minibus taxi industry. Furthermore, according to Clarke, 'although not all forms of nonstandard work are precarious, most nonstandard workers experience high levels of precariousness' (2006:14). This is unquestionably the situation in the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. In a similar argument to Saul, who studied the reality of what he called 'precarious populations…existing more generally throughout the South' (2014:100), this thesis examined the existence of precarious populations within the minibus taxi industry in the Global South.

Taxi drivers and taxi marshals are citizens that are placed in precarious conditions of work. The precariousness of working conditions for this group of workers is characterised by the lack of what Standing (2011:10) regards as the seven forms of labour security. In contrast to these seven forms of security, Mosoetsa et al define 'precarity as a "continuum" characterised by four rules: level of proceeding employment, authority over work process, level of administrative security (through unions or laws), and income level' (2018:2). This thesis argues that precarious workers in the minibus taxi industry are in a continuum, with a certain degree of regulation of their workplace, albeit with challenges as discussed in chapter 8. Also, within this continuum, the taxi industry's precarious workers are placed in uncertain and unpredictable conditions. The precarity of work inside the minibus taxi industry is not just a result of the seven insecurities of work as characterised by Guy Standing, but in addition to taxi owners' '(capital's) catch of life inside and beyond the workplace' (Mahmud 2015:700). In other words, taxi drivers and taxi marshals have been captured into precarious conditions of work in the industry. Their experience of precarious conditions in the workplace (through for example, being underpaid) leads to them experiencing precariousness beyond the workplace. Their experience of precariousness in the latter is where, for example, they do not have payslips to show when applying for credit or to buy a house. The primary logic of taxi owners is the accumulation of capital. For taxi drivers and taxi marshals, precarious conditions, as a state of work and ontological experience, is the characteristic and

enduring result. Clarke (2006) established the growth of precarity as defined by deepening employment insecurity and instability in the retail sector, and similarly, this thesis makes a valuable contribution towards understanding the extension of precarity. The conclusions reached by Clarke (2006) are corroborated in this thesis, that the minibus taxi industry demonstrates the existence of precariousness, which has historically characterised the industry. Clarke rightly points out that 'the proliferation of various forms of precarious work, brings up issues about the suitability of current types of regulations and possibilities for accomplishing uniformity and employment equity' (2006:446).

In a similar vein, this thesis raises questions about the suitability of the TRP (now the RTRP) and labour regulations for transforming the minibus taxi industry. In addition to Clarke (2006), who considered the growth of precariousness in the context of globalisation and labour market restructuring, this thesis contributes to the literature that precariousness has been in existence since the 1970s. This context testifies to the existence of precariousness in other parts of the Global South. Saul also confirms the existence of proletarians and even precariat in the 'Global South generally (and in South Africa more specifically)' (2014:108). The precariousness of the minibus taxi industry has produced a marginal population living in precarious conditions.

As Guy Standing (2011) argues, incomes fluctuate. This is the case with the income of taxi drivers, whose income is decided by the taxi owner based on how much they generate per day. The study of precarious conditions of work and the historical backdrop of the minibus taxi industry seem to help the point of the inconsistent income. The conditionalities of the precariat explained by Standing do not adequately explain realities in parts of the Global South. The working class in the South is confronted by high employment, employment insecurity and lack of benefits, and yet Standing fails to take this into account. Also, while the precariat exists in the industry, the organised working class like SATAWU has been unable to defend the precariat, mainly due to the fact that taxi drivers and taxi marshals face intimidation from their employers (taxi owners), as discussed in the findings chapters. In addition, the power of taxi owners, which remains uncontested, contributes to the rise of the precariat.

However, while SATAWU has not been able to organise workers in the industry (blaming intimidation from the taxi owners as a cause), it continues to fail in recruiting members effectively. SATAWU's failure to organise workers in the industry places it in a position where it is also responsible for precariousness. According to Barret, 'the manageability and adequacy of

SATAWU organising strategy in the kombi business has still to be tried' (2003:x). While this thesis was not mainly about testing SATAWU's organising strategy in the industry, it appeared that the union continues failing to organise workers, a failure that is shown by its inability to recruit members. During my fieldwork, the Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator from SATAWU mentioned that they have around 10 000 members. For example, he states, "I can say - we are round about 10,000 in Gauteng, plus minus 10,000 members" (Gauteng Taxi Sector Coordinator SATAWU, Interview, 1 November 2018). While they have this estimated number of members in Gauteng, he further mentions that they do not participate in meetings (with this speaking to SATAWU's strategy of effectively organising its members). Given that participation is minimal from the estimated members, it appears that SATAWU only has them on paper. So, SATAWU needs to do more in representing its members and make sure that they participate in meetings in order to improve working conditions.

As an industry that continues to be unregulated and informal, I define informal work within the minibus taxi industry as labour that drives legal and illegal taxis, but their employment conditions try not to offer standard terms, conditions, and advantages determined for employments under law, 'either in light of the fact that the law does not cover these specific occupations or in light of the fact that the law is not viably authorised' (Mosoetsa et al. 2018:4).

The Sectoral Determination for the Taxi Sector is not enforced within the industry. The failure to enforce labour regulations in the industry gives rise to the precariat and precarious conditions of work. These precarious conditions place the industry in a contradictory position, in a state of precarious legality and illegality. Therefore, the increased insecurity, legal uncertainty and illegality of the industry places taxi drivers and taxi marshals in positions of a precariat. This thesis makes a theoretical contribution to the analysis of precariat existence. While Guy Standing guaranteed that the 'youth make up the centre of the precariat' (2011:66), my findings exposed that in other parts of the Global South, adults make up the core of the precariat. For example, the majority of my fieldwork participants from the taxi ranks were between the age of 25 and 70. It remains unclear whether all young people in other parts of the Global South are experiencing precariousness.

It is worth noting that research on precarious employment (Kalleberg 2009; Standing 2011, 2012, 2014) associates the condition of precariousness 'with the casualisation of work in post-Fordist production and the retrenchment of welfare in the European and North American settings' (Choi

2018:494). Precarity in the West is fundamentally experienced because of full-scale adjustments in the labour market. Historically, in Africa and Asia, developing countries 'needed both economic resources and political ability to work as welfare states, they have refashioned themselves as "developmental states" drawing their authenticity from effectively advancing and supporting economic development' (Choi 2018:495). In this regard, through the TRP and now the RTRP, South Africa is shown to be promoting and sustaining economic development of the minibus taxi industry.

This thesis raises several methodological contributions based on my situation as a researcher, including reflexivity, access to the field and information collection methods. The following subsection discusses these methodological contributions.

10.3 Methodological Contributions

Considering the literature review and the findings discussed in this thesis, this section will make the following contributions to a similar type of research within Sociology.

The first contribution relates to my experience of negotiating access in the taxi ranks. This process was not straightforward. The process presented me with mixed responses from taxi owners. On one occasion, because I was not in Johannesburg at that point, I asked my fieldwork assistants to attend a meeting with the UTAF on my behalf. The UTAF board had expected that I do a presentation of my research to indicate how it would benefit them. They also directed me to the NTA for additional help. This is when the NTA requested that I write a MoU. Therefore, the NTA made it complicated to negotiate access, such that I was required to sign an MoU with them confirming that I would not use the information I collected for the benefit of a competitor. Even though I prepared and signed this, the taxi operators were still reluctant to talk. After several attempts, access was later granted, but even after access was granted, taxi drivers kept on referring me to the taxi owners. They kept on telling me that they did not want to say something wrong.

These experiences confirm that negotiating access to the field is not an easy one-way process. It involves “yes” and “no”, including several questions. Therefore, researchers should be prepared to engage these challenges as they enter the space of the “other” as outsiders.

Secondly, on entering the taxi ranks, I was seen as an outsider, with some taxi owners not wanting to talk for fear of saying something incorrect that may place them in difficulty with their bosses, the taxi associations. This posed challenges of gaining access to speaking to taxi owners. The assumption was that they were going to refer me to a group of taxi drivers and taxi marshals. However, this was not the case, as I was told by the NTA and SANTACO to just go to the taxi ranks. Therefore, while it was easy to speak to the taxi drivers, taxi owners proved difficult to reach, fearing that they would say something that might lead to problems. Others asked how the research would benefit them. However, some ended up talking after understanding the purpose of the study.

This methodological contribution highlights that spaces within the field are controlled and that some of the invited people (the participants) may not be willing to participate, wanting to know how the research may benefit them. This means that the research process is replete with contradictions.

Thirdly, it was awkward talking about the monthly incomes with some of the taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals. To overcome this, I designed demographic questionnaires to complete before I asked the interview questions. Therefore, I used both in-depth interviews and demographic questionnaires to collect data in the taxi ranks. While the taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals were reluctant to talk about how much they earn, they were willing to complete the questionnaires as required. They were also able to explain, through in-depth interviews, their experience of precarious conditions of work. This methodological contribution takes into account that some questions might be “uncomfortable” for participants. Nevertheless, I do not suggest that researchers cannot ask such questions. Certainly, it is the nature of our research that we disrupt what are otherwise considered “normal” everyday societal activities by asking difficult questions that participants may not consider with such seriousness. Therefore, I disrupted the everyday operations of the taxi ranks by asking questions about the income of taxi drivers, for example. The utilisation of both in-depth interviews and demographic questionnaires empowered me to appreciate the precariousness of work in the industry. With demographic questionnaires, I discovered how the taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals earn incomes per week. And, through the use of in-depth interviews, I illustrated examples of their precarious conditions of work. It is through interviews that taxi drivers, for example, were able to explain that they are exploited and do not earn living wages.

Fourthly, in 2018 when I conducted an interview with the DoT's Director of Taxi Industry Development, I learned that the Department had conducted a review of the TRP and that the report was still in parliament for consideration. While he discussed with me some of the findings and recommendations of this review, he told me that the report was not ready to be shared. I then asked that he share the report with me once it was ready to be shared. I followed up with him several times and he told me that the report had been taken back to parliament. With the need to consider the findings and recommendations of the review, I then decided to lodge a request for the report utilising the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) of 2000 to give me access. I sent my solicitation to the Information Officer of the DoT, according to the PAIA. I completed the necessary Form A and sketched out the following required information in relation to the review:

1. Copies of all records (dating from 1 December 2016 onwards to the date of this request) relating to the report of the Taxi Recapitalisation Review.
2. The number of taxis scrapped across the country, between 2004 and 2018.
3. Findings of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme Review.
4. Recommendations of the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme Review.

I requested that these records should include but not necessarily be limited to:

1. Records relating to tenders awarded, and contracts concluded with the Taxi Scrapping Administrator responsible for the scrapping of OTVs.
2. Records showing the way in which the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme has benefited the taxi operators.
3. Records showing the number of old taxis still to be scrapped.
4. Records showing how the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme has helped with facilitating the subsidy system for the taxi industry.
5. Records showing the number of taxi operators trained through the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme.
6. Records showing the impact of the TRP inside the taxi industry, explicitly according to working conditions.
7. Copies of any correspondence between officials within the department and representatives from the taxi industry.

However, while waiting for the DoT Information Officer to come back to me, I learned through the media that the Minister of Transport was going to pronounce the RTRP on the 26th of April 2019 in Pretoria. I read the Minister's announcement online. The Director of Taxi Industry Development in the DoT also sent it to me. This is because I was not in Pretoria at the time. Following the announcement, I then decided to follow up on my request with the Information Officer and I was told that the request had been referred to the legal section of the Department. Due to the lengthy process of the PAIA, I decided to engage with the key findings and recommendations from the announcement. On 10 June 2019, I received an email from the office of the Information Officer advising that there is a R8,40 fee to pay in order to access the documents, which I then paid. The documents were then sent on 11 June 2019, However, while the documents were shared, the final RTRP report was not shared. In a letter from the Deputy Information Officer, Ms Lulu Sizani, it was explained that the report had not yet been fully approved by Cabinet, and as such it could not be shared until approval had been granted. It was also mentioned that the full findings and recommendations could not be shared with me. This suggests that accessing some documents from government departments is controlled, posing further complications for researchers. Therefore, the research process is a lengthy one involving several engagements at different levels.

These methodological contributions highlight that while *primary access* to the field might be granted, '*secondary access* can be trying as once inside the organisation we may discover numerous hallways with different entryways that open and close whenever and are checked by different gatekeepers' (Cunliffe and Alcadipani 2016:3). Along these lines, gaining and maintaining access to the field includes recognising its complex, moral, political and social nature. Cunliffe and Alcadipani further contend this 'requires researchers to assume liability for respecting the position and values of research participants and for understanding the likely outcomes of their actions' (2016:4). This means that the research process goes far deeper than the Higher Degrees Committee and Ethics Committee approving the research.

10.4 Summary of Chapters

This thesis had four parts and 11 chapters dedicated to addressing the main research question of the impact of TRP on precarious conditions of work inside the minibus taxi industry in South Africa. Part one provided a discussion of 2 chapters which gave a layout of the setting of the study. These chapters discussed the minibus taxi industry as fundamentally arranged within the

informal sector: however, set apart by conflicting procedures of formalisation and informalisation. The chapters additionally discussed the history of the minibus taxi industry, to give historical context to the study.

Part two had four chapters which focused on the literature review, theoretical framework and research methodology. Chapter 3 recognised gaps in the literature and different examples in the minibus taxi industry which gave an understanding of working conditions inside the industry. Through the literature review, the chapter noticed that while broad research has been directed on the minibus taxi industry, there was a recognisable gap in the impact of the TRP on unstable states of work inside the industry. Thus, the motivation behind this thesis was to fill this gap. While this gap has been filled, another gap was noticed on the role of women within the industry. The manner in which taxi drivers' work is structured is an indication that it is not a woman's work. It remains to be established how many women are employed as drivers (or taxi owners) in the industry. Chapter 4 drew in the research question further by pondering the state's role in the transformation of the minibus taxi industry. This transformation was focused on the TRP, a programme shaped to transform the industry, according to the recommendations of the National Taxi Task Team in 1995. The moderate change of the minibus taxi industry is because of strategic selectivity, whereby the state keeps on privileging formalised public transport over the informal and unregulated minibus taxi industry. Chapter 5 examined the theoretical/conceptual framework of precarity that informed this thesis. The theory chapter on precarity offered a unique theoretical approach to deal with the investigation of precarious conditions of work. Chapter 6 examined the techniques used to gather information so as to respond to the principle research question. Through the data collection, it was noticed that taxi owners were exceptionally hesitant to take an interest in the research, inspired by a paranoid fear of saying something incorrect that may put them in trouble with executives of the industry. I additionally discussed my encounters of negotiating access to the field.

Part three was dedicated to discussing the findings from the interviews and documentary research over four chapters (chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10). The chapters, in particular chapter 7, drew from key archives of the DoT, GDoRT, and Gauteng's DoEL. This chapter likewise drew from interviews with the industry's key stakeholders who continue to assume a significant role in the public transport arena. This chapter aimed to recognise coherence between the finding chapters and literature and to likewise show how the findings challenge the literature. Through the finding chapters, I discussed that the TRP has minimally affected precarious states of work inside the

minibus taxi industry. I additionally found that there is an absence of vital state intervention in the industry. The state has not been effective in deliberately intervening in the industry. It increasingly puts the spotlight on formalised public transport, buses and trains, and ignores the informal and unregulated minibus taxi industry. This is an instance of strategic selectivity, to utilise Grumiller's (2019) term.

Chapter 7 discussed the public transport system in Gauteng and considered the opportunities for the minibus taxi industry. The chapter also discussed the challenges facing the industry in Johannesburg. Corresponding to Chapter 3, Chapter 7 discussed the context of Gauteng's public transport system and the lack of available support for the minibus taxi industry. Chapter 7 also discussed the challenges related to obtaining operating licenses, one of the requirements in order to benefit from the TRP. Chapter 7 explored the industry's regulation in Johannesburg, discussing the licensing of taxi operators and the questions of legality versus illegality of taxi operators. This chapter corresponded with that of chapter 4, which discussed the role of the state in restructuring the industry. The discussion of the industry's regulation in chapter 7 speaks to the issues of transformation of the industry by the state, through the TRP. This speaks directly to the research question of the impact of TRP on precarious conditions of work in the industry. In so doing, the chapter also discussed regulation of the industry by the DoEL.

Following on from chapter 5 and the theory of precarity, Chapter 8 discussed the subject of unstable work conditions inside the minibus taxi industry. Chapter 8 alluded to the issue of taxi drivers and marshals confronting intimidation from taxi owners when labour unions recruit them. Chapter 9 discussed the impact of the TRP on precarious states of work inside the minibus taxi industry. The theoretical framework of the thesis, as discussed in chapter 5, which examined suggestions by Guy Standing for the precarity of work to be changed, likewise informed this chapter. Thus, chapter 8 drew from interviews on the experiences of the TRP in transforming the industry. The chapter additionally examined recommendations from the interviewees.

The last part of the thesis, part four, focused on discussing perceptions of the minibus taxi industry from commuters' point of view and concluding the thesis. While the purpose of the main research question was to engage with workers of the minibus taxi industry to determine the impact of the TRP on precarious conditions of work, it was important for the thesis to also investigate the condition of taxis and taxi drivers' workplace from the commuters' point of view. Part four had one chapter, chapter 10. Chapter 10 summarised all chapters of the thesis and discussed the

perceptions of commuters on the usage of minibus taxis. In addition, chapter 10 discussed the implications of the *minibus taxi industry's working conditions* for precariat theory and practice.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter summarised all 10 chapters. It concluded that the satisfaction of commuters is key to making sure that minibus taxis play a meaningful competitive role in the South African economy. Commuters need to feel safe, as this chapter has indicated. It is important that taxi operators keep taxis in good condition for commuters to travel. Therefore, the RTRP should take this into account to ensure that the state improves the public transport system. The precarious workers are part of the working class. They are a group with views, interests and struggles for emancipation. This chapter basically drew in precariat theory and noticed a precarious presence in South Africa. I also discussed my four contributions to the research methodology. My findings have contributed to the study of precarity in a critically engaged manner. The clarity of the concept "precariat" has been dependent upon examination, given the huge scope of unstable conditions of work that it is said to consolidate. The thesis investigated top to bottom the contending and perplexed process of precarity inside the minibus taxi industry, with explicit reference to working conditions.

This thesis used the concepts of precarious, precariousness, precarious work, precarity and the precariat to clarify conditions inside the minibus taxi industry and the negligible effect of the TRP subsequently. These ideas informed how the marginalisation of the industry has operated throughout the years. This thesis has uncovered the expanded instability of taxi drivers and taxi marshals at work, in the taxi ranks and inside the minibus taxis. In uncovering these unstable conditions, I problematised Guy Standing's propensity to universalise the reasons for precarious work. This thesis offered a hypothetical and methodological way to deal with the investigation of precarious states of work. It presumes that the TRP has minimally affected unstable states of work inside the industry and poses the question as to whether the RTRP will effectively change conditions inside the industry. With the minimal impact of the TRP on the minibus taxi industry's precarious conditions of work, I propose the following seven (7) articles on transformation of the industry. These articles are important in ensuring that the minibus taxi industry does not remain characterised by precariousness that makes it difficult to compete in the public transport value-chain. The articles can be considered in the implementation of the RTRP. This would help in

addressing the pitfalls of minibus taxi industry transformation, including precarious conditions of work within the industry.

Article 1: Reform statistics on the number of legal and illegal minibus taxis – government should conduct research in order to understand the exact number of taxi operators in the country, so that they know who they are dealing with.

Article 2: Regulate the minibus taxi industry. Ensure that all taxis have operating licenses - government should regulate everything, from the management of the association to administration of the entire association. Regulate down to the ranks, the queue marshals, the drivers. All illegal taxi operators should be taken off the road. Register all taxi operators with the Department of Labour – all taxi owners should comply with the Sector Determination for the Taxi Sector. Improve taxi ranks.

Article 3: Reconstruct the minibus taxi industry so that they form co-operatives. Such co-operatives, as defined by Browning (2018), would be formal sector companies. These companies would help address precariousness within the industry.

Article 4: Minibus taxi industry employees to have written contracts of employment – taxi owners should make sure that taxi drivers and taxi marshals are given written contacts of employment, as per the requirements of the labour regulations. The DoL should facilitate this. Employees with payslips, taxi owners should make sure that all employees are issued with payslips, as per the requirements of labour regulations. There needs to be a move towards basic income within the industry – all employees of the minibus taxi industry should be paid a basic salary, as per labour regulations.

Article 5: Move towards collaboration between the Department of Labour and Department of Transport **-** government should not only rely on scrapping old taxis, but also on improving the relationship between departments. Therefore, regulation of the industry should speak to the issue of labour conditions.

Article 6: Promote occupational freedom within the minibus taxi industry, so that taxi drivers and taxi marshals can defend and further their interests, individually and collectively – taxi owners should allow employees to exercise their right of freedom of association.

Article 7: Ensure that the Revised Taxi Recapitalisation Programme also speaks to labour conditions – the TRP should not only focus on technical issues like the scrapping of old taxis, and working conditions. As such, the RTRP should ensure the realisation of good working conditions.

These recommendations directly speak to the need to respond to precarious conditions of work within the minibus taxi industry. While noting that the TRP has been replaced by the RTRP, government should ensure that the benefits of a so-called 'collaborative minibus taxi industry and operating models' are successfully implemented in order to address the precarious labour conditions described in chapter 8. The state should also address all the pitfalls (Oosthuizen and Mhlambi 2002) which continue to undermine the development of the state. In this regard, the industry should also show willing. This will ensure that commuters travel safely and can rely on minibus taxis.

At the time of completion of this thesis, South Africa was faced with the Coronavirus which led to a national lockdown. In response to the outbreak of the virus, the Department of Labour and Employment (previously Department of Labour) issued a Workplace Preparedness document: COVID-19 (SARS-CoV-19 virus) guide to assist employers' preparedness for the virus. During the lockdown, businesses and offices were closed (only those offering essential services remained open) and citizens were confined to their homes. The virus and the lockdown disrupted economic activities in many industries, including among others, the minibus taxi industry. During the lockdown, some taxi operators complained that the lockdown would result in them losing profit. Taxi drivers also complained that they were not generating enough money through taxi fares as they used to (noting that each day they give collected fares to taxi owners and keep some of the money for petrol). Some taxi drivers complained that because of not being able to make enough money, they could not even keep "isokisi".

Therefore, the virus and the lockdown revealed further the precariousness of taxi drivers and the concerns around making profit by taxi owners. Such precariousness was portrayed when Minister of Employment and Labour, Thembelani Waltermade Nxesi (popularly known as Thulas Nxesi) confirmed that informal workers would not be covered by the Department's measures to lessen the effects of the lockdown on the working class. Future research will need to look at the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic and ensuing national lockdown on the minibus taxi industry.

In an effort to formalise the minibus taxi industry, the Department of Transport (DoT) held a National Taxi Lekgotla, during the 2020 October Transport Month, to discuss ways in which the state of the industry could be improved. The Lekgotla (held between 29 October and 31 October 2020) was long-awaited, as violence and strife triggered by turf wars and leadership struggles continue unabated and unity in the industry remains a challenge. Associations remain

uncontrolled and operators are not held liable by successful law enforcement for their actions. In attendance in the Lekgotla were the officials from government departments, including President Cyril Ramaphosa; representatives from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), SANTACO, South African Local Government Association (SALGA), and National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC*)*. However, worth noting was that the National Taxi Alliance (NTA) was not in attendance as it withdrew from participating in the Lekgotla. Their withdrawal was because they considered the government as acting in bad faith. This is because, they say, the Minister of Transport prefers SANTACO and, therefore, the Lekgotla was for the benefit of SANTACO. Indeed, the Lekgotla continued despite the participation of the NTA. While the Lekgotla continued despite overall industry participation, it is unlikely that it served its intended purpose – it was a non-starter. NTA did not only participate in the National Lekgotla, it also did not participate in the Provincial Makgotlas. In its media statement on 23 October 2020, the NTA noted that 'Minister Mbalula and his department have made it abundantly clear that the purpose of the National Taxi Lekgotla is to entrench Santaco as the apex leadership of the taxi industry and to give Santaco statutory powers to regulate the taxi industry. This is tantamount to inviting us to interfere in the affairs of another organization we do not belong to'.[20]

For unity to be realised in the industry, the Lekgotla should not have been centred on the SANTACO, as if it is the only mother-body in the taxi industry. The NTA should have participated in the Lekgotla and table their issues for discussions. The involvement of two mother-bodies, each claiming to represent and acting on behalf of the taxi industry, greatly complicates the government's efforts to consult and enter into binding agreements with the industry. Therefore, government and industry need to explore ways in which the two can be combined and leadership unified together.

[20] National Taxi Alliance. 2020. *National Taxi Alliance Media Briefing on the National Taxi Lekgotla, Taxi Relief Fund and Management of the Corona Virus Pandemic in The Taxi Industry by The NTA Executive Committee Represented by President Mohanoe Francis Masitsa.* Available at https://nationaltaxialliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/NTA-Media-Theo.pdf (accessed 24 October 2020).

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APPENDIX 1: Project Tracker with conducted interviews

Participants		Activities	Progress on interviews and participant observation	
			Target	**Achieved**
	Department of Transport	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**
	Department of Labour	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**
	Gauteng MEC for Transport	Recruitment and arranging for an interview	**1**	**1**
	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**
	National Taxi Alliance	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**
	South African National Taxi Council	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**2**
	Gauteng Provincial Regulatory Entity	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**
	SA Taxi Development Finance	Recruitment and interviews	**1**	**1**

	Johannesburg Taxi Ranks	Negotiating access. Recruitment and interviews	**40**	**41**
	Passengers	Recruitment and interviews	**8**	**8**
	Participant observation	Participating in the taxi trips, while at the same time recording what is being observed	**8**	**8**
TOTAL			**64**	**66**

APPENDIX 2: Interviews in the taxi ranks

		Category		
Participants	**Activities**	**Taxi Owners**	**Taxi Drivers**	**Taxi Marshals**

			Target	Achieved	Target	Achieved	Target	Achieved
	Bree Taxi Rank	Recruitment and interviews	3	1	5	11	2	1
	Faraday Taxi Rank	Recruitment and interviews	3	1	5	5	2	1
	Noord Taxi Rank	Recruitment and interviews	3	3	5	5	2	2
	Wanderers Taxi Rank	Recruitment and interviews	3	4	5	5	2	2
TOTAL			**12**	**9**	**20**	**26**	**8**	**6**

APPENDIX 3: Interview questions for the Department of Transport

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY
2. **Tell me about the role you play in the industry?** *Probe:* • *What is their role in the industry?* • *What do they do to address the challenges facing the industry?* • *Number of members from the taxi industry* • *How they represent the taxi industry*	WORK IN GENERAL
3. **Tell me about the number of taxi operators with operating licenses and those without** *Probe:* • *Reasons for not having operating licenses*	OPERATNG LICENSES

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **What do you think about the TRP?** *Probe:*	TRP AWARENESS

• *The role of the TRP in formalising the taxi industry*	
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding the working conditions*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** *Probe:* • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING
4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What can be done to improve the industry?*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 4: Interview questions for the Department of Labour

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY
2. **Tell me about the role you play in the industry?** *Probe:* • *What is their role in the industry?* • *What do they do to address the challenges facing the industry*	WORK IN GENERAL

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **What do you understand about the working conditions in the industry?** *Probe:* • *Whether there are good labour practices in the industry*	WORKING CONDITIONS
2. **What role do you play in enforcing labour laws/sectoral determination?** *Probe:* • *Whether taxis are abiding by the labour laws*	ENFORCING LABOUR LAWS/SECTORAL DETERMINATION

3. **What do you think about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *The role of the TRP in formalising the taxi industry*	
4. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding the working conditions*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE
5. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** Probe: • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING
6. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
7. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What can be done to improve working conditions in the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRY

APPENDIX 5: Interview questions for SATAWU

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City?** →*Getting the participants to discuss their views on the geographic location of the taxi rank* *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY
1. **Tell me about the role you play in the industry?** *Probe:* • *What is your role in the industry?* • *Number of members from the taxi industry* • *How you represent the taxi industry*	REPRESENTATION

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **What do you think about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where did you hear about the TRP?* • *What information SATAWU was told/given* • *Who gave them the information* *Was the SATAWU participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE

• *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding their working conditions*	
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** *Probe:* • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING
4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 6: Interview questions for SANTACO

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY

2. **Tell me about the role you play in the industry** • *How many members do you represent?*	REPRESENTATION

SANTACO LEADERSHIP

1. How is the relationship between SANTACO and the taxi owners?	RELATIONSHIP WITH TAXI OWNERS
2. Is there a working relationship between SANTACO and the Department of Transport?	RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

TAXI VIOLENCE

1. What do you think causes taxi violence within the minibus taxi industry?	TAXI VIOLENCE

2. What can be done to prevent it?	SOLUTIONS TO TAXI VIOLENCE

TAXI DRIVERS' STRIKE

1. Generally, what do you think is the reason for taxi drivers to go on strike?	TAXI DRIVERS ON STRIKE
2. What do you understand as the impact of taxi drivers' strike on the impact of the country?	IMPACT OF STRIKE

3. What can be done to solve taxi drivers' strike?	SOLUTION TO TAXI DRIVERS' STRIKE

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **What do you think about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where did you hear about the TRP?* • *What information SANTACO was told/given* • *Who gave them the information* *Was the SANTACO participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding their working conditions*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** *Probe:* • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING

4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 7: Interview questions for NTA

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City of Johannesburg?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY

2. **Tell me about the role you play in the industry** *Probe:* • *How many members do you have in South Africa?* • *How many members in Johannesburg?* • *How do you represent your members?*	REPRESENTATION

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

1. Tell me about your relationship with government *Probe:* • *Do you have working relationship with the Department of Transport specifically and other government departments*	WORKING RELATIONSHIP
2. In which taxi ranks in Johannesburg do your members operate? *Probe:* • *Do you all have operating licenses?* • *What are their current challenges?*	

TAXI VIOLENCE

3. What do you think are the causes of taxi violence?	TAXI VIOLENCE
4. What can be done to prevent it?	PREVENTING TAXI VIOLENCE

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME (TRP)

1. **Do you know about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where did NTA hear about the TRP?* • *What information NTA was told/given* • *Who gave NTA the information* *Was the SANTACO participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is NTA's overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE

• *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding their working conditions*	
3. **What do you think about the TRP in general?** *Probe:* • *Did TRP improve the state of the minibus taxi industry in South Africa?*	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 7: Interview questions for SA Taxi Development Finance

ROLES

1. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the City?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the City.*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY

2. **What role do you play in the minibus taxi industry?** *Probe:* • *How they finance a taxi* • *How many taxis they finance in Gauteng* • *How taxi operate qualify for taxi finance* • *Your specialisation in pre-owned and new taxis in South Africa* • *Whether the taxis are insured*	ROLE WITHIN THE MINIBUS TAXI INDUSTRY
3. **Relationship with Khusela Taxi Insurance** • *How does Khusela Taxi Insurance protect taxi operators* • *How many taxi operators insured in Gauteng specifically, and South Africa in general?* • *What is the requirement for insuring taxis?* • *What happens to those not insured?* • *How do they pay premiums?*	ROLE IN INSURING TAXIS

TAXI VIOLENCE

5. What do you think causes taxi violence within the minibus taxi industry?	TAXI VIOLENCE
6. What can be done to prevent it?	

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **What do you think about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where did you hear about the TRP?* • *What information SA Taxi was told/given?* • *Who gave them the information?* *Was the SA Taxi participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE

• *Impact regarding their working conditions*	
7. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
8. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 8: Interview questions for Gauteng MEC for Roads and Transport

ROLES

4. **What do you understand as the role of the taxi industry in the country?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that the industry plays a critical role in the economic growth of the country*	ROLE OF THE TAXI INDUSTRY

5. **Tell me about the role the department plays in the industry?** *Probe:* • *What is their role in the industry?* • *What do they do to address the challenges facing the industry?*	ROLE IN THE INDUSTRY
6. **Tell me about the number of minibus taxis in Johannesburg** *Probe:* • *Availability of a reliable data on the number of minibus taxis*	NUMBER OF TAXIS

TAXI VIOLENCE

9. What do you think are the causes of taxi violence?	TAXI VIOLENCE

10. What can be done to prevent it?	PREVENTING TAXI VIOLENCE

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **Tell me what you know about the TRP?** *Probe:* • *The role of the TRP in formalising the taxi industry*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding the working conditions* • *What they think about working conditions within the industry* • *What they think about the TRP in general*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE

3. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What can be done to improve the industry?*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

INTEGRATED TRANSPORT PLANS AND SUBSIDIES

1. **What is your view on transport subsidies?** *Probe:* • *The public transport sectors that are subsidised.* • *Reasons for not being subsidised*	
2. **Tell me about the government plans for public transport in the city** *Probe:* • *How minibus taxi operators are form part of the integrated public transport plans of the city*	
3. Improving the public transport system in Gauteng *Probe:* • *What can be done to improve the state of public transport in the country*	

APPENDIX 9: Interview questions for the taxi owners

SUITABILITY

1. **Is the taxi rank suitably placed?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that this is the most appropriate location (considering economic impacts in the City)*	LOCATION
2**. Are the operating hours appropriate?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that these hours are adequate and appropriate* • *Whether their workers are comfortable with these hours*	OPERATIONAL TIMES

WORK IN GENERAL

1. Before we start talking about your views of the TRP within the industry, tell me about the/your life of being a taxi owner *Probe:* • *Where is home?* • *When did you start driving taxis?* • *When did you start being a taxi owner?* • *What lengths of time do you drive for?* • *What do you think are the hazards/dangers related to driving taxis?*	BACKGROUND OF TAXI OWNER
2. **Tell me about the work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals in general** *Probe:* • *How do you see the work of taxi drivers and taxi marshals?*	WORK IN GENERAL

• *Do you receive any complaints from the taxi drivers and taxi marshals?* • *What are the complaints related to?* • *How satisfied are they (taxi owners) with their (workers) work?*	
4. **Does the nature of being a taxi driver influence the driving ability?** Probe • Does the nature of their work affect their ability of taxi drivers to make profit (especially in terms of work hours and location)? • Does the nature of their work (driving for long hours) force them to work maximum hours?	BEING A TAXI DRIVER

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **How did you hear about TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where the taxi owner heard about the TRP* • *What information the taxi owner was told/given* • *Who gave them the information* *Was the taxi owner participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE

• *Impact regarding working conditions*	
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** Probe: • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING
4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 10: Interview questions for the taxi drivers

SUITABILITY

1. **Is the taxi rank suitably placed?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that this is the most appropriate location (considering economic impacts in the City)*	LOCATION

2**. Are the operating hours appropriate?** *Probe:* • *Whether they feel that these hours are adequate and appropriate* • *Whether their they are comfortable with these hours*	OPERATIONAL TIMES

WORK IN GENERAL

1. Before we start talking about your views of the TRP within the industry, tell me about the/your life of being a taxi driver *Probe:* • *Where is home?* • *When did you start driving taxis?* • *When did you start being a taxi driver?* • *What lengths of time do you drive for?* • *What do you think are the hazards/dangers related to driving taxis?*	BACKGROUND OF TAXI DRIVER
2. **Tell me about the work of being a taxi driver in general** *Probe:* • *How do you feel about your work?* • *How satisfied are you with work?* • *Tell me about the working conditions* • *Do you have a contract?* • *Are you a member of a union?*	WORK IN GENERAL
4. **Does the nature of being a taxi driver influence your driving ability?** *Probe*:	BEING A TAXI DRIVER

• Does the nature of your work affect your ability to make profit (especially in terms of work hours and location)? • Does the nature of your work (driving for long hours) force you to work maximum hours?	

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **How did you hear about TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where the taxi driver heard about the TRP* • *What information the taxi driver was told/given* • *Who gave them the information* *Was the taxi driver participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding their working conditions*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** *Probe:* • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING

4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP
5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 12: Interview questions for the taxi marshals

WORK IN GENERAL

1. Before we start talking about your views of the TRP within the industry, tell me about the/your life of being a taxi marshal *Probe:* • *Where is home?* • *When did you start being a taxi marshal?* • *What lengths of time do you drive for?* • *What do you think are the hazards/dangers related to being a taxi marshal?*	BACKGROUND OF TAXI MARSHAL
2. **Tell me about the work of being a taxi marshal in general** *Probe:* • *How do you feel about your work?* • *How satisfied are you with your work?*	WORK IN GENERAL

• *Tell me about the working conditions* • *Do you have a contract?* • *Are you a member of a union?*	

TAXI RECAPITALISATION PROGRAMME

1. **How did you hear about TRP?** *Probe:* • *Where the taxi marshal heard about the TRP* • *What information the taxi marshal was told/given* • *Who gave them the information* *Was the taxi marshal participant in any of the TRP discussions*	TRP AWARENESS
2. **What is the overall experience with the TRP?** *Probe:* • *Impact of TRP in the industry* • *Impact regarding their working conditions*	OVERALL TRP EXPERIENCE
3. **If you had to rate your TRP experience within the industry, what score out of 5 would you give? (0 is highly dissatisfied and 5 is highly satisfied)** *Probe:* • Reasons for rating	OVERALL TRP RATING
4. **What do you think about the TRP in general?**	OPINION ON TRP

5. **What recommendations would you give for improving the TRP?** *Probe:* • *What we can do to improve the industry*	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDUSTRY IMPROVEMENT

APPENDIX 13: Demographic questionnaires for semi-structured interview participants (taxi owners, taxi drivers and taxi marshals)

Date of interview: _____/_____/_____ Location: _____

Which group do you belong to (please tick one)

Category	Please tick one
Taxi owner	
Taxi driver	
Taxi marshal	

Demographic Information

1. Are you male or female? _____
2. What is your age? _____
3. Which language do you mainly speak? _____
4. What nationality are you? _____
5. What is your highest educational level?

Category	Please tick one
Some primary school	

Completed primary school	
Some secondary school	
Completed secondary school	
Any tertiary education/post-secondary school	

6. What is your current employment status?

Category	Please tick one
Full-time employed	
Part-time employed	
Self employed	
Other (specify)	

7. Do you have contract of employment?

Answer	Please tick one
Yes	
No	

8. What is your monthly income?

Category	Please tick one
< R5000 / < $500	
R5000 – R10 000 / $500 - $1000	
>R10 000 / > $1000	

APPENDIX 14: Demographic Information of Participants in the Four Taxi Ranks

Taxi rank	Category	Gender	Age	Language	Nationality	Highest level of qualification	Employment status	Contract of Employment	Monthly income
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	25	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	30	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	40	Sepedi	South African	Post-secondary school	Self-employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	46	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	25	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000

Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	65	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	67	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	29	Sepedi	South African	Post-secondary school	Self-employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	47	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	25	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	26	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5001
Bree taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	27	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5002
Bree taxi rank	Taxi marshal	Male	50	IsiXhosa	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000

Bree taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	42	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Self-employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	50	Tsonga	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	60	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	69	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	More than R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi marshal	Male	46	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi marshal	Male	46	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi marshal	Male	69	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	More than R10 000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	44	SeSotho	South African	Completed primary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000

Noord taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	35	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	30	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	37	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Part-time	Yes	Less than R5000
Noord taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	30	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	60	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	29	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Part-time	No	Less than R5000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	32	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Part-time	No	Less than R5000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	30	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Part-time	No	Less than R5000

Faraday taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	35	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	30	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Part-time	No	Less than R5000
Faraday taxi rank	Taxi marshal	Male	40	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	36	SeSotho	South African	Completed secondary school	Temporary driver	No	Less than R5000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	28	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Part-time	No	Less than R5000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	33	IsiZulu	South African	Completed secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi driver	Male	35	IsiXhosa	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi driver	Female	60	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000

Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	71	SeSotho	South African	Some secondary school	Self-employed	No	More than R10 000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	67	Setswana	South African	Some secondary school	Self-employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	73	IsiXhosa	South African	Completed primary school	Full-time employed	No	Less than R5000
Wanderers taxi rank	Taxi owner	Male	49	IsiZulu	South African	Some secondary school	Full-time employed	No	Between R5000 and R10 000